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ARCHÆOLOGIÆ
ATTICÆ
LIBRI SEPTEM.
SEAVEN BOOKS OF THE
ATTICK Antiquities.
CONTAINING,

The description of the Citties glory, Government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, account of the Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. By FRANCIS ROUS Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

With an addition of their customes in Mariages, Burialls, Feastings, Divinations &c. in the foure last bookes. By ZACHARY BOGAN Scholler of C.C.C. in *Oxon*.

The fourth Edition corrected and enlarged with a twofold Index *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

Aristid: Περασηληνοσι τὰς ἀκοάς, ἐπεχόμεθα, μᾶλλον ἔχοντες ἔργον ὃ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῃ χρησόμεθα, ἀρετή.

OXFORD,
Printed by LEO. LICHFIELD, and HEN. HALL, for
John Adams, and Ed. Forrest. 1654. 2.

Wing R. 2034



TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
Sir NATHANIEL BRENT Knight
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant
Warden of Merton Colledge in
OXFORD, *Healtb, &c.*



IT is the custome of most,
to impose a patronage of
their errours upon some
eminent person. But it
shall be my ambition in
this my Dedication, to
manifest my observancie.
Others make their choice of potent men,
thereby to shun the darts of envy. It shall be
my glory to be thought worthy of inviden-
cy; whose ignorance is not so great but well
¶ 2 knowes

THE EPISTLE.

knowes that ever some will bite in secret; and scourge these errors of my youth with private reproches. But such malignant tongues I will counterpoise with the wind; and let as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perswaded that the covert of your wings, be sufficiently able to shelter my faults, yet had I rather to expresse my duty toward you in these naked infirmities, whose goodnesse truly knowes * how to pardon the bold adventures of learning. I present you therefore with *Athens*, whose deplorable raggednesse my papers well resemble: which may challenge this excuse, that they assimilate themselves to the Treatise in them contained. Which of all men, I my selfe am conscious most unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurse of reason; * which flourisht in eloquence, & brave achievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have without her disgrace been spoken of by me: That *Athens* Whence the learned Fathers of the Church sucked rare literature, *Basil* his eloquence

* Ausis literarum ignoscere Vegetius in Prolog.

* Cic. Epist.
* Patercul in fine Lib. 1.

DEDICATORY.

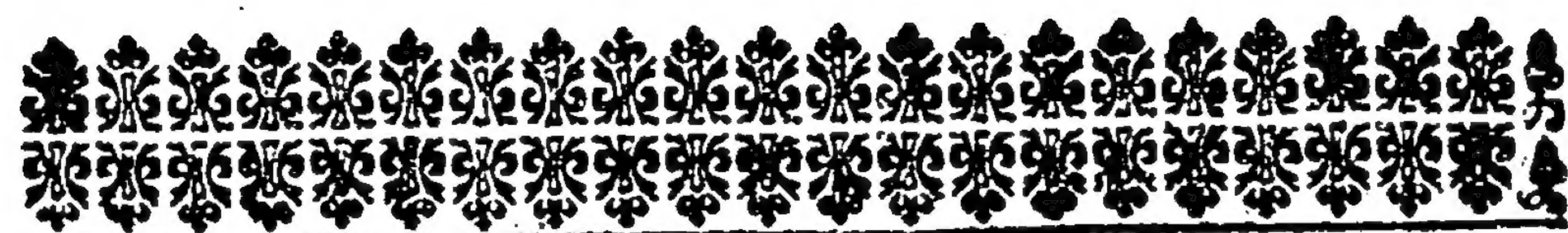
eloquence, *Nazianzen* his strength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not seen is by * *Lypsins* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Reliques of that famous University, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well esteemed of, though among most of these our daies accounted dirt; whose labour it is to seek new fashions, and like nought but what may be accounted novelty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cicero*. *Ad id solum quod adest, quodq; praesens est se accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens praeteritum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with those Champions of Learning, hundreds of years since gathered to their former dust: By whose pensills wee see drawne the lively Images of deceased Monarchs, the formes of government, and very lives of states. Out of which patternes, if you please to deeme the least part of this to have been taken, it shall heape to my joy that the following Tract will not seeme a spurious and de-

* Apud Diocarchum
* Et unum re. de
* αταί τὰς Α-
* θύας, σέλε-
* χ. ④. ii.

THE EPISTLE &c,
generate of spring. Upon presumption of
which I feare not, as the Eagles doe their
young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the
open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes
for addition to your happinesse, I take leave,
From my Study in Merton Colledge June 9.
1637.

*Your VVorship's in all bumility
to be commanded*

F. R O V S.



To the Reader.



I is not a thirst of empty
glory that makes me runne
hazard of your censure,
but a consideration of the
weaknesse of Schoole-ma-
sters, who undertake to read the Greeke
Orators to raw Schollers, themselves be-
ing not ripe in the Attick custumes. I
have therefore so farre endeavoured as
you see. If any thing may afford a scruple
to any, he shall engage me that will re-
quire satisfaction. If any thing seem a-
misse,

To the Reader.

misſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour
to heare of it from any. For I am not of
thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their
errors are told them. If this pleaſe it
ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this
courſe intended; and as occaſion may give
leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be
ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.



Index Vocabulorum.

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Ἀκτιὴν. Ἀκταία. Ἀκτὶ. Athena in acta,
Cecropia, Cranao, Attbis, Attica,
Athene ſub Cecrope. Certamen Pal-
ladii & Neptuni, Plutarchi eā de re
ſententia, Alii ſub Eroſtheo volunt
nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone,
Salenos, Selinos, Satina, Sethina.

2 Athenarum ſitus, Ἀστυπόλις, Ἀ-
γοροπόλις, Herba lucentes, Myrta, Pe-
laſgicus & Cimonicus, Propylea cir-
cuſitus veteris urbis, & novae, ἡ ἀνὰ τὴν
κατὰ πάλιν. Piraei brachia. Myrta
phalericus, Porta, Aer, Latus paſſim
apud Scriptores, Cephiffus fluvius.
pag 6.

3 Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀθηναῖοι. Mores & in-
genia. Τὸ μισθάρβαρον. Quantum ho-
diermi differunt à veteribus; & qua-
lem vitam rationem modumq; habent.
pag 14

4 De populi diviſione, Εὐπαι-
δαί, Γεωμῶν, Στρατηγῶν, Πεντακομῶν-
δομοί. Ἰππῶν. Ζωγῆται. Οἷται. Quid A-
thenienſibus cum Aegyptiis commu-
ne.
p. 18

5 Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope,
Mutata earum nomina, Augentur à
Clisthene, duo additae. Φεγεῖα, Φεγεῖπρις.
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6 Grecia vicatim habitata. Δημὸς
quid Athenienſibus proprium habere
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7 Τυεαννίς. Ολιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία.
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Φίλις, Ομόγυνος, γαλαῖα, Ἐρεμῶς, ἄ-
γορᾶς, Ζεὺς. Modii ſalis edendi, Teſ-
era hoſpitalis, ſeu ſymbolum. Apollo
Ἀπολλεῖας, Πατὴρ, Ἀλεξάνδρως, Συ-
ραῖς. Paan & ejus verbi origo. Mer-
curius Παλιεκάππας, Βεῖνις, Σιγερῶν-
Περαδῶν.
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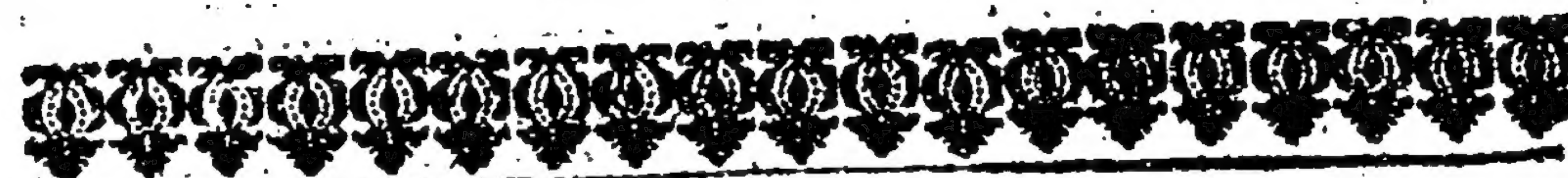
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Archæologie

(1)



ARCHÆOLOGIE ATTICÆ

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Iavan, Ias, Iaones, Ionia, Ἀττική. Ἀττική. Ἀττική. Athenæ in aἶτᾱ,
Cecropiæ, Cranaæ, Athis, Attica, Athenæ sub Cecrope. Certam-
en Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re sententia, alii sub
Erethæo volunt nominari, Justinus sub Amphictyone. Salenos.
Selines. Satina. Sethina.

BY the sonnes of Noah^a were the Iles of the a Gen. 10. 5.
Gentiles divided in their lands, every one af-
ter his tongue; when by their audacious fol-
ly they would have mounted up to heaven,
thinking to leave a name to posterity, by
building Castles in the air. From which at-
tempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of,
namely, a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth; he
having so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a fair wind.
Hoyst then their sailes they must, and, bidding adieu to the
plain in the land of Shenar, seek out some new habitation.
Travellers they were of yore, & yet still must journey: Each
one in as different a course, as of a divers language: The sons
of Shem their way: the sons of Japhet, theirs; Gomer, and Ma-
gog, and Madai, and Iavan; with whom I purpose one furlong

A

to keepe company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. ^b Ἀπὸ ἧς Ἰαυδνὲς ^c Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγενῆσιν. From *Iavan* came *Ionia* and all the *Greekes*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for Greece; in Daniel twice, ^c And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia shall come. And againe, ^d He shall stirre up all against the Realm of Grecia. Where although the old translation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is so found in the originall. He then coming into the country called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Ias*. ^e Ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. For *Attica* was anciently called *Ionia* and *Ias*. In which words we still retaine some reliques of the radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the sons of *Iavan* were stiled *Iaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ--Ἐνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες--τοὺς Ἀθῆναιες λέγει. *Homer* when he saies, There the *Bæotians* and *Iaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these words, ^f Ἰαόνων γὰρ οἱ καὶ πέρσαι δέλων Ἰεῖον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθῆναιοι λέγοντες ἔκ πινθη Ἰάονος βασιλέοντος αὐτῶν. It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are tearmed *Iaones*, from one *Iaon* (he meanes *Iavan*) that was their King. Neither is it strange that the *vau* or *υ* ψαδον is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Diphthongs were. For the *g* antique Latines and the *Greekes* spake it as broad as, as if it had been *thesaros*, not *thesakros*. *St. Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, That *Asia* the lesse had people before Greece had any, and that *Iavan* did not fly from *Babylonia* into Greece, but took *Asia* the lesse in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritime province on that side, as he did to that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy and judicious a man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to goe so farre, as antiquity will beare

beare me out, ^a *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all ^a *Lib. 1. p. 2.* Greece was not βεβαίως ὀικουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continuall pilgrimages, or removings of the inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no safe traffique or commerce by sea or land, each manured his grounds for to have provent, alone to serve for present necessity, desiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertain, how soon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their seats; not taking grievous that sharp charge, veteres migrate coloni, Be gone you ancient Boores. But the more fertill soyle had hard bickrings. *Thessaly*, *Bæotia*, and a great part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιπλοῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτότητα αἰσίουσαν εἶναι, ἀνδρωποὶ ὥκην οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. But *Attica*, by reason of the thinnesse or barrennesse of the ground, was alwaies inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to leave his better, for a worse) not affording fuell to contention. Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now swarming, and ἐχὼν ἰκανὴς ὄντος, not able to contain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Asia* the lesse, which is reported by the *Greekes* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Crensa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be ^c κτίστης Ἀσιαδος χθονός, the maker or founder of *Asia*. The mother *Ionia* (for so I please to say) kept not still her former name. For in proceſse of time she owned *Aἰῆα*; from *Aἰῆων*, as ^d *Strabo* sayes, or from *Aἰῆς*, according to ^e *Pausanias*, who was the first king thereof, by ^f *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron* called *Aἰῆς*. But ^g *Dion Chrysostom* brings a more naturall reason then this, why it was *Aἰῆα*. *Aἰῆα* signifies a shore, both in the *Greeke* and ^{*} *Latine* speech. Now because all of it, within a little, was washed with the sea, and ^h ἀλιπενὲς, it might challenge unto it selfe *Aἰῆα*. *Dion*

^b *Thueyd.*^c In *Ione*.^{T. 2. p. 619.}^d *Li. 9. p. 397.*^e In *Att. p. 2.*^f *Pag. 23.*^g *Orat. 6.*^{*} *Virg. Æn. 5.*^{p. 214.}^h *Strabo l. 9. p. 391.*

ἡ δὲ πόλις τε ὀλίγη πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅθεν ὃ καὶ Ἰωνομα-
λαβὲν, ὃς ἀκτὴν τινὰ ἔσταν. Hence 'Ακτὴ by the Ænegmeticall Poet
in his *i* Cassandra is put for this country. Tzetzes. Because it is
(*Ἀκτὰ*) a cliffe, that is cast forth and lying in the sea. And Athens
her selfe by *Plautus* is said *Athenæ in acta*, pro *Athenis Atticis*,
as *k* *Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season,
& *Cecrops*, having married the daughter of *Ἀδίας*, glories in
his *Cecropia*, and *Athens* was called *Cecropia*, & *Cecropis civitas*,
and after that *Cranaus*, from *Cranaus* the king that succeeded
him. This *Cranaus* among other of his daughters had one
1 *Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*; next
Posidonia and *Minervia*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this re-
gion stood *Athens*, *Queene of Greece*, so called, from that vi-
ctory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops*, moved
with a prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and
bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the
Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie
Neptune, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into
suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had
most voices should carry it. The females being more, the
Goddesse bore away the bell. Loe here a witty Devill to
bring in ἐπιχρῶντες θεῶς, Gods of his own making, to infold
the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave
the shadow of poeticall fictions, and take the true draught
out of *Mythology*. *Plutarch* is of opinion; that the ancient
kings striving to draw away their subjects from seafaring
negotiations, and a desire to live by sayling, unto tillage and
manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Ne-*
ptune and *Minerva* did altercate about the city. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, &c.
Neptune is put for the Sea and businesse thereof. *Minerva* for
Arts and ingenuous kinds of life: nay saies *Ovid* in his *Ka-*
lender, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is a Goddesse of a thousand
trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by
Amphiſtyon, & nomen civitati *Athenas* dedit. *c* *Justine*. Others in
the time of *Ereſtheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this
name

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicile-
giis.l Strabo &
Paus. locis
præd.a Varro apud
August. l. 18.
c. 9. de civit.
Dei.b In them. p.
87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

name given. Which Author^d *Marcianus Heracleota* doth fol- d ἐν αἰν-
low, ὅς ἐστισι ὃ γένους Ἑρεχθέως τὸ πόλεως ἡγεμὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν γήσει.
τὸ προσήρξαν λαβεῖν. This was that *Ereſtheus*, who in a time of
drought over all the world, except *Ægypt*, brought corn to
Athens, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this
City hath beene to *Ægypt* for other kings; to wit, *e* *Cecrops*, *e* *Aristoph.*
and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the sch. pag. 79.
time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him, it was a received Tzerz. in
opinion, that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*, *Sais* in *Lycoph.*
that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greece*, as *Tzetzes* out of *P. 23.*
Carax. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*,
they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians*
have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*. But it
pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athem*,
when the people began more seriously to addict themselves
to civill government, and study of good literature; know-
ledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾷ τὸ ἐπι-
τήμιον ἀντιπαρεμὸν καὶ τὸ τέχνη, saies *f* *Aristotle*. Nay her name *f* *Polit. l. 8.*
being derived from thence, *Ἀθῆνα* in the *Chaldy* tongue c. 9.
signifying to study or learne: from which come *thenaa*, and
with an article *Halthenaa*, as *g* *Heinsius* the most learned. *g* In *Aristar.*
As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from ana the number of *Sac. Synt. l.*
three, which notes eternity; and so from hat-het-ana. *Athens*. c. 1. p. 27.
But because wisdom doth contain eternity; let us send it
back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning,
which was once the *h* shop of letters and the *Muses*, whereof it *h* *Isidor.*
is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former
Athens, nay the name it self. For if we believe some they tell
us, that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not.
Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*,
which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in dis-
course with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in
that City, I had no other appellation from him then *Ateene*,
wh^{ch} others write *Satina*, corrupted, as *Portus* & *Meursius* tru- a In *Hodæp.*
ly think, for εἰς Ἀθῆνας. Nay *a* *Hugo Favolius* who was there *Byz. l. 3.*
himselfe

himselfe even to the same purpose names it *Sethina*.

Undiq; sic misere nobis spectantur Athenæ,

Dedala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,

Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mænia dicis,

Indigenæ Sethina vocant.----

We wretched *Athens* round doe view, which now,

Though once ingenious *Pallas* love, 's her shame,

And t'have beene thine, *Neptune*, would'st disavow,

To which the Homebred give *Sethina* name.

C A P. II.

Athenarum situs. Ἀθ. πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ. ἡ ἀνω & κάτω πόλις. Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus passim apud scriptores. Cephissus Flavius.*

b In Panath.
p. 171, 172.

Greece, saies *b* *Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole earth, and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navell whereof is *Athens*, by which all Greece, clofeted in the wombe of time, received nourishment, before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high rock, which habitations doe en-

c Lib. 9. pag.
396.

** Plin. Nat.
hist. 1. 7.
c. 56.*

d In Att. pag.
13. l. 16.

e Eunuch.
act. 5. sc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24.
l. 43.

compasse, as *c* *Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himselfe names ** Cecropia*; of old Ἀθ, the City, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetuall contention with the *Argivi*. Witnesse *d* *Pausanias*. *c* *Terent*, *An in astu venit?* *Donat*. *Sic Athenienses urbem suam vocabant, unde ipsi incolæ Ἀσσοι vocantur.* So, saith he, the *Athenians* called their City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *astoi*. After that they called it πόλις *f* *Pausanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx* a Castle; which

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as *g* *Aristides*. Who *g* *Orat.* in *Mi-*
therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks* named *Divare-* *nerv. Tom. 1.*
tinens in summis urbibus arces. The Goddesse that keepes the *Tur-* *p. 21.*
rets of Cities. This onely now remaines, the succour and
shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished
with men and armes, in which alone dwell *Janizaries*, to the
number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophero Angelo*
told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken
the number. As for the forces thereof *Hugo Favolius* shall *a* *Hodæp.*
thus instruct you, *Byz. l. 3.*

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæque impõsta jugo est, vastas prospectat in undas

Æquoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes

Externo indigenas nocuo. iutatur ab hoste,

Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio

Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,

Ignivomõque magis tormentorum impere tuta.

A Castle onely famous at this day;

Set on an hill, below which viewes the sea.

The scattered thatcht sheds, that stand it about,

The fort defends, and keepes invasion out,

And natives safe. A fort; none noted more

In Greece, which hath a better warlike store,

Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the toppe of this Turret stand the fashions of Halfe
Moones most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ishmae-*
lites, who have the Moone in no small honour, as my much
honoured Mr *b* *Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets *b* *De Diis Sy-*
thus speakes *Favolius*, *ris, Syn. 2.*
cap. 2. p. 288.

Cujus inamratis longe rutilantia Lunis

Ardua cælivagas ferium fastigia nubes.

Whose tops with gilded Moones aspiring high,

Doe knock the Clouds the pilgrims of the skie.

Neither may it passe obscurely which I have taken up, be-
ing let fall from the mouth of an eye witness; namely,
that

8 *Archæologia Attica Lib. 1. Cap. 2.*

on the side of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of hearb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the hearb it selfe. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The walls that environ this, are none now, saies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath beene well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *Πελαργί*, *Storkes*, *Διά τὴν πᾶντλ*, for their wandring: a *Strabo*: *Pelargi*, *Storkes*, *Διά τὴν πᾶντλ*, for their wandring: the two that first built houses of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author, and the persons wrong, in putting a false name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pausanias*. *φᾶσι δ' Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπερβιον*. From these was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus*.

Τίς δ' ἂν κατέχει τὴν πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;
The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *a Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a summe of money. *c* For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour war against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.
By

Archæologia Attica Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

9

By the way it shal be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *Plutarch* *Διά τὸ ἀκολάει καὶ δυνάει* it may bee, for his heat in *ἐμλωικ*. *Vener*y and ill favour. Goats likewise, saies *Varro*, came not thicher, unlesse for a necessary sacrifice once, least they should hurt the *Olive* which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore *stadia*. Now a *Stadium* is about some ^{*} six hundred & twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks, so to measure the length or distance of grounds, or Cities, by the *στάδια*. The first City then is contained in seaven miles and an halfe. But at this were added more houses able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by *ἡ ἄνω καὶ ἡ κάτω πόλις*. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, *πρὸς ἡμέτερον καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσης* *ἡ ἄνω πόλις διαφυλάττει*. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with *τὸ ἄνω* in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be *τὸ κάτω*, *a Thucydides*. *Ἐφερόν τε τὸ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων ὄντες ἔδωκα οἱ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων*. And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest who were not addicted to the sea, yet lived below, understand neare the sea, *Schol.* *κάτω ἢτοι ἐγγὺς τῇ θαλάσσῃ*. The *τὸ ἄνω* then, and *τὸ κάτω* knit together made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, tooke up, as *b Dion Chrysostome* writes, two hundred *stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiast* testifying that the walls were *πλείων τε ἢ τὰ στάδια ἐν* fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not eftsoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written *xx* for *xv*, twenty five for fiftene. For so it ought to be. Neither is it strange that it had so large bounds. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum* foure miles *c. 85*.

B

and

a Lib. 9. pag. 397.
b Nat. hist. 1. 7. c. 56.

c In Attic. p. 36. l. 34.

d Tull. Off. 1. 2.
e Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 1.

f *ἐμλωικ*.
p. 175.
g *De re Rust.*
** Fine feet make a pace, and a thousand paces a mile. Isidor. Orig. lib. 15. c. 16.*

h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

a Lib. 1. p. 6. 2

b Orat. 6.

c Nat. hist. 1. 2

10
and a quarter: The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in his second book consisted of five miles a quarter & halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together make up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked wals, for then it cannot

#Loco citato that he spake not barely of the naked walls, nor then to hold; but I suppose some houses: so have been without d walls.

hold; but I suppose some houses: so have been wicked
 ἢ ἀειβλογον, as he saies, τὸ ἄτεθ' οἰκεῖσθαι τὸ πάλα καὶ πάντα ζύμπα-
 πα. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can
 the opinion of *John Meursius*, who reading

e In Archad. in *e* Pausanias, these words, *f* Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὲ σάβις μάλιστα ἔκοσιν
p.244.l.37. ἀφῆσκα πῆς πάλεως ἢ πρὸς φαιρήν θάλασσαν, should presently
be understood, that the *f* wall called

f Att. Lect. 1. obtrude to us, that Pausanias teaches, that the wall called Phalericus is but twenty stadia or two mile and an halfe

Phalericus is but twenty stadia or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing lesse. For speaking of salt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσις κύματα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the neerenesse of the sea. For when he writes of this brackish well. Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up neere Phalerus, is distant from the City but twenty Stadia at the most, quoth he. Where Amaseus had this strangely doted. Αἰθηνὰ δὲ Φαλῆρον ἀβυστὴν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀμφοτέρωθεν. XX. And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewise considered that αὐτὸς with a Dative case signifies not only *juxta* and *prope* as I have translated it; but *supra* sometimes, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number; but sees not into the words. Now it is not needlesse that the two cities, Phalerum and Athens at so long a distance,

1 Lib. 37. sees not into the words. Now it is not
 2 Lib. 3. Eleg. walls, which joynes Pyreum and Athens at so long a distance,
 19. p. 192. be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by ^a Livie
 c In bello among the *milia visenda*, Many things worthy of sight at
 Mith. p. 125. Athens. These are the *μακρὰ τεῖχη*, in ^b Propertius,
 1. 9. *Theseæ brachia longa viæ.* ^c Appian of Alexandria, *μακρὰ*
 d Pag. 355. l. 10. *οὐραν*, and ^d Plutarch in *Cimone*. One lying towards the
 e In Pericle. North, of which ^e Plutarch. The other toward the South,
 p. 115. l. 20. in

in height about forty Cubits, as ^f *Appian* testifies. These are ^f In *Mith.* p.
called *διὰ μίον τεῖχον* by ^g *Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athens* being ^{124. l. ult.}
at one end, and *Piræum* at the other, these were drawne forth ^g *Orat.* 6.
between. And when writers speake of *Νότιον διὰ μίον τεῖχος*,
it may be conjectured that it is for distinction of that *Νότιον*
τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, ^h witnesse *Pausanias* ^h In *Attic.* p.
Aristophanes seems to bring authority for an opinion that ^{19. l. 8.}
Themistocles built these. In ⁱ *Equitibus.* ⁱ P. 337.

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιέμαξεν.

Which his Scholiast affirms. Τὸν δὲ Περαιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρ-
σέβαλλε τῇ πόλει For Themistocles added Piræum to the City. we read
in ¹ *Probus* that he was the only agent in walling the City, & that he so hastened the accomplishing, that they were faine

to be as it were sacrilegious, and make use of materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But ^m Plutarch gaine-saies this, and that he did only *πὺ πόλιν ἐξέπλεν τὸ περιῶς, καὶ πὺ γλὺ τῆς θαλάττης*, conjoyne the City & Piræum, and put the land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However so fenny was the

^m In Them. p.87.l.25.
ⁿ Plut. in Cim.p.355. l.14.

fore. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the worke soon came to great reparation, which *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* undertook. For which stones of an huge weight and lime, he made the earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberall, that he did out of his own expences to great favours, to a people that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches; but in after time finished the whole work, so that he may truly be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Mensisius* hath observed tenne, but I feare they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these. *Dipylon* or *Thriasia* the fairest of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, saies *Livie*, *major aliquanto-potentiorq; quam ceteræ est*, greater somewhat and wider then the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon* as if it were as big as two Gates. Πεπεγυγῖ. *Pi-*

raice. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. *Plutarch*. *Ἰεραὶ δὲς*. *Hippades*. Where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Orator rest with his progenitors, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his Country. *Ἰεραὶ*, *Sacræ*. The sacred gate. We read of this in *Theophrastus Characteres* but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-eyed *Cassander* had not espied a fault For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as *Ἰεραὶ*, yet is there any that ever read *καὶ τὰς Ἰεραὶ πόλιν ἔξενώχθαι νεκρῶς*, the dead to have bin carried out to buriall through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they speak not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. Write then *Ἡεῖα*. *Ἡεῖα* are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *Demosthenes*, *Αἰγέων πόλιν* The gate of *Ægeus*. It seemes to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *Ἐρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέων πόλιν*. The statue at the gates of *Ægeus* *Μελιτιάδης* *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponnesian Warre*, who after his returne into his Country from banishment, was treacherously murdered, his Sepulcher stands neere these gates. *Ἐ Πανσανίας*. *Κεραμικὰ πόλιν* *Ceramicæ*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ *Κεραμικῷ πόλιν*. The Gates in *Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious warre that *Thrasylbulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. *Ἐ Xenophon*. *Διοχάρους πόλιν*. The Gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speake. *Ἀχαρνικὰ πόλιν*. The *Acharnan Gates*. I suppose they were called so from that Towne or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients dame their Gates from the Towne to which they were neere. The Romans their *Porta Collatina* from

In Theseo. p. 9. l. 20.

a ἐν βίαις τ' i p. 456.

b καὶ ἀνα- δισίαι. p. 45.

c Pag. 715. num. 95.

d Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

e Atticis p. 21. l. 41.

f Ἐλλωνικ. β. p. 279. l. 43.

from *Collatia*, a Burge not farre off. And happily it is so here, as also in *Διόμεια* *Diomea*; for *Dionus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the Citty. *Θεωρία* *Thracia* These are all that I ever met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by *Pausanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pæcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brasse. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speake as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve Gates; which being opened enter; sucke that sweet ayre, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits,^a & prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well straine to this note, that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning* *παντοῖα ἀρετῆς ξυνεργῶς*. Well may he blesse that clime silling it *Λαμπαράζατον ἀλδέα*, which hath been the Mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmodia*; as if there were no such melodious consent, as in the Sciences. Let not *Theophrastus* assert all Greece to lye under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it. ^c No coast so truly void of all earthy dreggs, and participating more of the coelestiall and defecated ayre. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions. ^f *Famous*, ^g *The most Renowned*, ^h *Happy*, ⁱ *Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*. ^k *Wonderfull*, ^l *Much spoken of*. ^m *Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear vessells of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing least it might be advatagious to any enemy that might invade the, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented, which they did but suppose could happen.

Meursius barth addit mōl. toncæ, & Scaæ. in Atticis which I never saw untill I had written this place as God and man is my witness. I speake least any shuld think that I have stoln out of him because we meet, & Atticis p. 14. l. 1. a Cassiod. Var. l. 12. b Medea p. 460. 461. c Med. p. 459 d In Praef. ad Charact. e Tom. 1. p. 173. f Aia. p. 57. g Oed. Col. p. 258. h Oed. Col. p. 264. i Aia p. 71. k l m. p. 361.

CAP. III.

Αττικοί, Αθωαῖοι, Mores, & Ingenia. τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ βαρύν. Quantum ho-
dierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumq;
habent.

Γ' εν βίω' Ελ. Αθωαῖοι, 196
m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei l. 18. c. 9, a Act. 17. b In Plato p. 38.

THE Athenians by ¹Dicæarchus are divided into two sorts, Αττικῆς, Atticos, and Αθωαῖας. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the punishments, which the Athenians are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appealing of Neptune, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loſſe of the Title of the City) was this, ^m That none ſhould after call them Αθωαῖας, Athenians, but Αττικῆς Atticæ. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. 'Οι μὲν δὲ εἰ-
ερροι ἢ λαλιῶν ὑπελοῖ, συκοφαντῶδεις, ὡρατηρηταὶ ἢ ξενικῶν βίων. Curious Babbler, Deceitfull, Calumniators, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers. Πειλερροι ταῖς λαλιῶν. A ſufficient witneſſe of this is ^a St Luke, that ſaies, they did regard nothing more then to heare and ſpeake novelty. To which end they often met in Barbers ſhops, where all the news, that was going in thoſe daies, was currant. Hence ſay we verba in Tonſtrinis proculcata: and in Greeke ἐν τοῖς κυρείοις λόγῳ, ^h Ariſtophanes.

Καὶ τοὶ λόγῳ γ' ὡς, νηὶ τῇ Ἑρακλεᾷ, πολὺς
ἐπὶ τοῖσι κυρείοισι καὶ θυμῶν
ὡς ἑξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γελῶν πλάσι.

They that ſate in the Barbers ſhops did talke much that he was ſuddenly grown rich The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning as if the Comædiā had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers and neglecting Barber Chirurgions of better cre-
dit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. ^c *Ælian*
καθεζομένοις ἐν ἰατρείῳ φορητοῖς, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν ἐκ παντὸς ἔπνυ-
δι-

c Var. hiſt. l. 3. c. 7.

δυσκύντας. Sitting in a Chirurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, & thir-
ſty to ſpeak ill by all meanes. ὕπουλοι men Italianated, who
can ſmile, even when they cut your throat. Such as Theopbra- Cap. 10
ſtus hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to
their enemies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation,
while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortall
embracements, and claſp you in thoſe armes, which they
meane to embrew in your deareſt blood. In ſumme, faire
without, but rotten within, like a wound which is healed a-
bove and ſeemes ſound, but putrifies under the ſkin. And ſo
much the word doth import. Συκοφαντῶδεις. Given to falſe
accuſations. The ^e Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes writes, that it be- e In Plut. p. 5.
ing forbidden to carry Figgs out of Athens, and ſome never-
theleſſe the decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to
doe, they ſet rogues in the gates that did appeach them, (as
^f Plutarch likewiſe) Hence came this word to be uſed for f In Solone
any crafty knave that gets his living by promooting, εὐπρόσ- p. 65.
κοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affaires, and g Xenophon.
therefore ^h Ariſtophanes hath fitly brought one upon the ^g Ἑλλῶν β.
ſcene terming himſelfe an Overſeer both of private and pub- p. 271. l. 20.
like matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, ^h Plut. p. 50.
and gotten him on the hip, he would as ſure have fetched c. p. 91. b.
him over for his coyne, as any Summoner doth a perſon delin-
quent towards the ſheſh, or any Lawyer a credulous client, &
having well plumed him, afterwards gives him a dimiſſory.
ἐκεῖνοι (Sycophants) μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χεῖματα λαμβάνοιεν ζυῶντων.
Xenophon. Such were many in Athens, inſomuch that Ariſtole
being asked what Athens was, answered, παῖς καλὴ, All beauti- i Ἑλλῶν β.
full, ἀλλ' ὅκνη ἐπ' ὅκνη φησὶ καὶ σύκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a verſe of ^a Ho- p. 272. l. 19.
mer in the deſcription of Alcinoüs garden, but peares grew a Odyſſ. 11.
ripe after peares, & figges after figges, meaning a continuall
ſucceſſion of Sycophants. This made Iſocrates the Orator to
compare the City to a Curtezan, with whom few there were
but would have to doe, yet none dare take to wife; affirming
it to be the beſt place to ſojourne in, but the worſt to inhabit.

By

By reason of their Sycophants & treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παρρησιαὶ καὶ ἔξενικῶν βίων. I was once halfe in an opinion that these words were to have been, put to the former thus, συκοφαντῶδες παρρησιαὶ καὶ ἔξενικῶν βίων, And I think the sence will runne well, Malitious observers of the lives of strangers. The Athenians were φιλόξενοι and heid hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law. That Forrainers should receive no wrong, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶν. Socrates in Xenophon. Now he discommends the Ἀθηνοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in Law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the Athenienses they were Μεγαλόφυχοι ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἑσσοῖς φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, Brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friends. But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into ἀναμαλιαν ἢ φῶσε, an Irregularity of nature. As c Polybius. No μεγαλόφυχα afterwards, but haughtinesse of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when d Livy saies ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servare, he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune had puffed up. No ἀπλότης, or simplicity, no e Lamb like innocency, or mildnesse, but as f Plutarch speaks, People rashly angry, soone pittifull, rather inclined sharply to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe base and abject Peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toys, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearfull and terrible even to their Governours, humane towards their enemies. Not unsely then g Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c. How deserve they to be blamed, who though they had just Laws, yet had they most wicked disposition, and chose rather to take their own courses, then put in practise their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to expresse a countenance void of shame, the Comædian hath put Ἀθηνοὶ βλέποντες, an Athenian look, in h Nubibus φιλίας γήσιοι φύλακες, so accounted in the time of a Patriculus, that what was done in sincerity and

culus, that what was done in sincerity and faithfull trust, the Romans would say, it was performed fide Attica, with an Athenian loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they brake their leagues, tooke part with other Islanders against confederates, and violated the lawes of armes, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was δέσπονος, ever mindfull, as b Virgil. memor ira. And the ha- b Æneid. 1. tred they prosecuted the Barbarians withall was so unquenchable, that it burned against c all Barbarians for the c Isocrat. in Persians sake; and they forbad them their sacrifices, as they Pan. p. 109. used to doe murderers among them. Where you must note, that all that were not Grecians were called of them Barbarians. But loe! How are they now become all Barbarous! whether or no people of Africa, or some of the Catelani, I cannot justly tell; Mahumedans all, poore and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth: d Fa- d Hodep. polius, Byz. l. 3.

Duraq, coacti
Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.
Aut passim instant furto, raptoq, propinqua
Æquora pirate, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces.
Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.
 Opprest with need they doe their life sustaine
 By rapine, and annoy the neighbour maine
 By pillaging. Who are most just and good
 With angling doe the silly fish delude;
 Or plough the grounds made desolate before;
 Unhappy, wretched, mis'able, still poore.

C

CAP.

C A P. IV.

De populi divisione, 'Ευπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. 'Ιππείς. Ζωῖται. Θῆτες. Quid Atheniensibus cum Ægyptiis commune.

THere were at first but two kinds of people in Athens, two orders quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat, in which there was a difference of dignity and fortune: such as at this day are in France, either Peers or Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And although Pollux call them τρία γένη, three sorts, yet I make but two, because the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for bloud, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks. α τρία γ γένη παλαιά 'Ευπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. 'Ευπατρίδαι, Eupatrides, were such as were descended from the loynes of those Heroes famous in the Greek history, whose families were ever renowned, and posterity propagated to many generations; such as Praxiargide, Eteobutade, Alcmaeonide, Cynide, Ceryces, &c. whom we may tearm Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, Geomori, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and commodities of these their possessions. Δημιουργοί, Demiurgi, were men of some handi-craft, Tradesmen, such as Tentmakers, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Masons, and the like. But Solon made another division. For when the Diacrii, which were those that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐν ὀρεῖ, saies ^b Diogenes Laertius; & the Pedieci, which likewise are πεδῆεις, such as lived in the middle of the City, or the plain; and the Paralii who lived near the sea, were at contention about government: The Diacrii leaning to a Democracy, as ^c Plutarch writes; the Pedieci to an Oligarchy, and the Paralii between both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine

^b In Solone.

^c Pag. 61. in Solonem.

mine the matter; he made these four ranks. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνος, ἵππεις, ζωῖται, θῆτες. Pentacosimedimnos, Equites, Zeugitæ, Thetas. Pentacosimedimni were those who ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμᾶ καὶ ἐν ὕδασι, could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike: What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning modium, hath no place here; for he supposes that Pentacosimedimnus was he that had as much ground as fifty Medimni could suffice to sow: but here I will confute him with a wet finger. ἐν ὕδασι. For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzevirii* printed at *Leyden* Anno 1635, under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometime a Professor of Tongues in France, and Author of the Treatise *De Magistratibus Atheniensium*. Equites were such as were of ability to keep an horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἵππες, πελῆτες. Zeugitæ were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could beare office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which he called θῆτες, Thetas, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the weal publique. But it had not been amisse if I had shewn how the Ægyptians had divided their people into three classes, as the Athenians did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree, or Eupatride, addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honour, answer to the Ægyptian Priests. Nay those great houses in Athens had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpide*, *Ceryces*, *Cynide*: for out of the stock were chosen Priests; hence ἱερωσύνη ἐν Ἀθῆναις in *Demosthenes*. The Geomori who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the warre, are not dislike them in Ægypt, who hold possessions on these tearmes, namely, to provide souldiers when need shall require to fight. The Demiurgi resemble those Plebeians, who skilfull in some art, did set out their labour to daily hire: as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut. p. 65.

e Plutarch.

loco præd.

sto.

f Plut. Thes.

P. 8. l. 18.

g Pag. 741.

num. 164.

C A P. V.

Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope. Mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φεαγεία. Φεάτορες. Τειήυς. ΓένΘ.
Tribulum. Κοινωνία, Φυλετικὰ δέμνα, Φεαγεία.

IN Athens there were but foure tribes under the rule of Cecrops. Cecropis, Autochthon, Aethæa, Paraliā; which had other names put to them, Cranaïs, Anthis, Mesogæa, Diacris. I suppose from the parts of Attica, it lying partly near the sea; thence Aethæa; partly hilly, thence Diacris; partly Mediterrane, thence Mesogæa; the other name from the King that was then: Whether the King would honour the Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not: it is probable that it was an honour to their governour; for as Cecrops gave the first names, Cranaus the second, each assuming a title to himselfe, Eriichonius called them after the name of Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan. Διὰς. Ἀθηνᾶς. Ποσειδωνίας. Ἡφαιστίδος. But when Ion came to rule, they were named after his foure sonnes, Geleontes, Ægicorcis, Argades, Hopletes, as a Herodotus and b Euripides; though Plutarch saies that they were so called c ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰωνί, εἰς ἃ διηγήθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, from the courses of life which they first took. But Clisthenes, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Councill of d Apollo, Alcmaeon being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demigods or Heroes born in that land, all except Ajax, whom, though a stranger, he puts to the rest, as a neighbour and companion e Herodotus. These then were called ἑπώνυμοι; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes; as Minerva is said by Dion Chrysostom ἑπώνυμος Ἀθηνᾶν, who gave the name to Athens. To these were erected Statues near the Councill place of the Senat. Their names are these f In At. p. 4. 5 as f Pausanias hath them, Hippoboon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius,

a In Terpsic. p. 137.

b In Ione versus finem.

c In Solon. F. 65.

d Aristides T. 1. p. 336. A.

T. 3. p. 352.

e In Terpsic. p. 137.

f In At. p. 4. 5

nus, Leo, Eriichon that slew Immaradus the sonne of Eumolpus in the Eleusinian warre, Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion. From these Ἰπποβόωντος, Ἀντιόχης, Αἰδωνίς, Ἀσονίς, Οἰωνίς, Ἀγαμαντίς, Κεκροπίς, Πανδονίς. To which they put two more, one called after Antigonius, the other after Demetrius his name, in gratuity to them for the favours received; which in proceesse of time they changed into Attalis, and Ptolemais, as Stephanus writes, διὰ τῶν ἐπωνύμων εὐερσῆτε δέντες βασιλέων, having been curteously entreated by the Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that Livie deceive us not, who at the time when Attalus did succor the Athenians against Philip, saies they first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the Rhodii rescued four fighting ships of the Athenians taken by the Macedonians, and sent them home, a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda. Thus have we seene that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of civill government. b Eustathius writes, that they were divided in imitation of the year; the four Tribes according to the four quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τετρίυς, or φεαγεία, answerable to the twelve Months; each φεαγεία, or τετρίυς, into thirty ἡμέραι, or kindreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witnesse the Riddle of c Cleobulus concerning the year;

* These are reckoned among the Eponyms in Paus. p. 5. who had Statues likewise. a Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In Il. b. pag. 181.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

Ἐἷς πατὴρ, παῖδες δὲ δωδECA ἦν δὲ ἑκάστῳ Πᾶδες τεῖκοντα, διὰνδριχα εἰδῶ ἔχουσαι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each son thirty daughters, and every daughter black and white, meaning daies and nights. Over these were governours, φυλοβασίλεις, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer, called Τειτάρχη, the Ruler of the Tritty or Phratria. The word may seeme to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or Company.

company. It skills not whether you derive it from *φασία*, as *Eustath*, or *παια*, as *Suidas*, or *φρέαρ*, as others, which is a Well, because they drew water from the same well. For the place being scanty of springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use *φρέας ποιντοῖς*, digged wells, as *Plutarch*. *φρέας* are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had if any *Laciades* should come into his Farm. In description of which thing *Plutarch* uses *δημότης*, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis*, (For this is as much as *συγγενὴς* and *συμφυλέτης*) but *popularis*. These at festivall daies in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observes, and *b Pollux* (where they brought their children to be engrossed in their books, as shall be hereafter spoken with the reasons thereof) from hence comes *φρατρίζειν*, *Phratrizein*, which is *τὸ εἰς φρεσίαν συνιέναι*, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place, *εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι*. As for the *γένη*, or kindreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but from that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this society. *Γένει μὲν* (every *γένος* or kindred consisting of thirty, whence they were named *τριάκοντες*) *ὁ προσήκωντες*, *ἐκ τῶν σὺνδου* *ὅτι τὸν προσπαροσδιδόμενοι*. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod; which the Grammarians call, *σύστημα κοινωνικόν*, a Communicative familiarity, *κοινωνία* being a participating in one thing, or having an equall share in the same priviledges. Great was their care of each other; great was their mutuall love; which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. *δείπνα φυλετικά*, and *φρατρίκα*. *b Athenæus*. *Τῶν δὲ νῦν δειπνῶν προγοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται* *τὰ τῆ φυλετικὰ δειπνα καὶ τὰ φρατρίκα προσέταξαν* *ἵτις δὲ τὸς διασες καὶ τὰ φρατρίκα*, &c. Of feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica* for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or

d In Solone
p. 65. l. 33.

a Iliad. β. p.
181. & II. i.
pag. 629.

b Lib. 3. c. 4.

b Dipnosoph.
l. 5. p. 185. d.

or popular. Moreover, *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence *ἑστάζειν τὸ φυλῶν*, and *ἡσιάζειν τὸς φρεσπορας*. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, that wine hath *ἐλκυστικὸν τι πρὸς φιλίαν*, an attractive and perswading force to procure love, and friendship.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος, quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere δῆμος. Quoi? Templâ & sacra pagatim.

ALL Greece was inhabited *καὶ κάμης*, as *c Thucydides* c. Lib. 1. speaks, by Villages, before there were any Townes; from whence comes the word *Comædie*. *d At verò nondum d Donat. in coactis in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id est, Pastorum vicinorum, præsidî Deo, constructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita festum carmen solenniter cantarent: orta est Comædia ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἀδῶν*, quod est, commessatum ire cantantes. The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they sung sacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the President of the shepheards and neighbours, about the villages, houses and crosse waies of *Attica*, altars being built in honour of the celebrity, sprung up a *Comædy*, *ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἀδῶν*, from reveling and singing. Others will have it derived from an ancient custome they had, when any were injured, among them, for the party wronged to come to the street where the offender lived, and in the night time to cry aloud, *ὁ δὲ ἵνα α Thomas ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ τὰ πρὸς τῇ, δεῶν ὄντων καὶ νομῶν*. Such a one doth wrong, and commits such and such outrages, although there be Gods and Lawes, by which these abuses were reformed. But the *Anonymus* in a preface to *Aristophanes* saies, *μὴ κάμης καλεῖσθαι τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ δῆμος*, that they were not called *κάμης* or villages by the *Athenians*, but *δῆμος*, which they translate

translate

b Lib. 7.
Ep. 3.c Atticis. p.
33. l. 42.d In Panath.
T. I. p. 326.
e Nub. pag.
225. e.
f L. 8. p. 430.
g In Il. b. pag.
215.
h In Athenæ-
um I. 6. c. 9.i Pausan. Att.
pag. 30.

late Populos, better in my minde oppida or Townes. Cicero ad b Atticum. Venio ad Piræa in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus Piræa scripserim, non Piræum (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quam quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco: & tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidam esse Piræa, sed de eo videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutusq; sum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cuius fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio scribi. Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem, Mercator hoc addabat captam de Sunio. Quod si δήμους oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piræus. If so be we will have δήμους to be Townes, Sunium as well as Piræus is a Towne. These were formerly Kingdomes as c Pausanias testifies. Γέγραπται ὅτι δήμοι, ἢ ἐν πῶς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευον τῆς Κέκροπος. Moreover, I have written, that some of the townes were governed by a King before the raigne of Cecrops: And no marvell, for some of them farre surpassed other Cities, as Aristides affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the Aikeniens, anciently called ναυκλαιοί, as e Aristoph. Schol. or ναυκλαιοί, as f Pollux, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But Clisthenes changed them into δήμους, as out of Aristotle the Schol. of Aristoph. The number of them is, as g Eustathius out of Strabo, and h Casaubon, an hundred seventy foure. Some whereof having the same name, are distinguished according to their situations, καὶ ὑπερθεῖν and ὑπὲρθεῖν, as we may say the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them divided into Greater and Lesser. The μικροί, or lesse, are these, Alimussii, Zoster, Prossaltii, Anagyrassii, Cephale, Prasieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinusii, Aihmoneis, Acharnae, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus. The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

KE-

ΚΕΚΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰζώνη. Δαυδαλίδαι. Επηκείδαι. Εὐπέτη. Πίδου. Σὺπελητῆδες. Τετρεμεῖς. Αἰθμονὸν ἢ Αἰθμονία, Αλαῖ Αἰζωνίδες. Φλία. Ἄκxone. Dadalidae, Epieidae, Χυρεῖ, Ριθίαι, Συραλεῖται, Τρινεμεῖ, Αἰθμον or Aihmonia. Αλα Ἄκxonides. Phlya.

ΕΡΕΧΘΙΣ.

Αγρεῶλη ἢ Αγρεύλη. Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐωνυμία. Θήμακοι ἢ Θήμακ. Κηφισία. Λαμπρά. Καὶ ὑπερθεῖν. Λαμπρά. ὑπὲρθεῖν ἢ παρθεῖν. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασή. Συβείδαι. Φηγῆς. Αναγρεῖς. Agræle or Agryle. Eponymia or Eponymus. Themaci or Themacus. Cephisia. The upper Lampra. The lower Lampra, in which Sigonius erres calling one the Maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewen above. Pambotadae, Pergase. Sybridae, Phegus. Anagyrus.

ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΣ.

Αγγελή. Κυδαθύναιον. Κύθηρον. Οἶα ἢ Οἶς. Παιανία καὶ ὑπερθεῖν. Παιανία ὑπὲρθεῖν. Προβαλινθ. Στειρία. Φηγαία. Μυρρινεύς. Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum. Oa or Oeis. The upper Peania, the under Peania. Probalinthes, Stiria. Phegea. Myrrhinus.

ΑΙΓΥΗΣ.

Αλαῖ Αραφηνίδες. Αραφῶν. Βατή. Γαρδνητῆδες. Διομεῖα. Ερεχθία. Εὐκεία. Ἐχρία. Ιγέρια ἢ Ιγέριος. Κολυτῆς. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθία. Τίδρες. Φηγαία. Φιλαιάδαι. Χολιδάι. Αλα Αραφηνίδες. Αραφην. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erechthia. Ericria. Echria. Icaria or Icarus. Ionide. Colytus. Cydantida. Plothea. Tithras. Phegea. Philade. Chollide.

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγνῆς. Εἰρεσίδαι. Ερμῶς ἢ Ερμοί. Ηραιαδῶν. Θόεικ. Ιτία. Κίκωα. Σφητῆς. Χόλαργος. Χόλαργος. Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Περσπαλτα. Agnus. Eriside. Hermes or Hermi. Hephestiadae. Thoricus. Itea. Cicyana. Sphælius. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia. Cophale. Prossalia.

ΛΕΩΝΤΙΣ.

Αἰδαλίδαι. Αἰδαλία. Αφιδνα. Διερῆδες. Εχάλη. Εὐπνεΐδαι. Κητῆς. Κρωπία.

D

Archæologie Atticæ Lib. I. Cap. 6.

Κρωπία Λακόνιον. Οιον Κεραμ. Παιονίδα. Πήληκας. Ποταμός.
Σκαμβονίδα. Σύνιον. Τβα Τβάδαι Φρέαρροι. Μαραθών. Αλιμύς.
Æthalide Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Syprada. Cer-
ti. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramicum. Peonide. Peleces.
Potamus. Scambonide. Synium. Hyba Hybade. Phrearrri. Marathon.
Alimus.

Ιποθοογτίς.

Αζωία. Αμαξαντεία. Ανάκαια. Αχερδύς. Δεκέλεια. Ελαιδύς Ε-
αίς. Ελάσις. Ερεάδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κειιάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Οφ-
ον Δεκαλ. Οινόν Ελάδ. Σφενδάλη. Αξενία. Αμαχανία. Ανα-
σεα. Acherdus. Decelia. Eleus. Eleusis. Ereade. Thymetade.
Ceriade. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras.
Sphendale.

Αηποχίς.

Αιγίλια ή Αιγίλος. Αλωπεμαί. Αμφιζυκή. Ανάρκυσ. Α-
πλή Απλώα. Βήσα. Θορά. Κειώα. Λακονίς. Μελαινείς ή Μέλα-
ται. Παλλών. Πεντέλε. Σημαχίδα. Φάληρον. Ægilia or Ægi-
lus. Alopece or Aloperea. Amphitope. Anaphlystus. Aene or Ale-
nia. Bessa. Thora. Criða. Leucopyra. Melaneis or Melene. Pallene.
Pentele. Semachide. Phalerum.

Αιαντίας.

Οινόν Μαράδ. Τίτακίδα. Τεικόρυθ. Ραμνύς. Oenoe at Ma-
cathon. Titacada. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this Tribe were some
townes taken away and put to other, Aphyna, Perside, &c.

Οινίς.

Βύτεια. Βυζαίδα. Επικηφισία. Θέα ή Θέα. Ιπποτομάδα. Λακί-
α. Λακιάδα. Λασία. Μελίτη. Οη ή Οη. Πειδοίδα. Πτελία. Φυλή.
Αχαρνα. Τυρμίδα. Βύτεια. Βυτάδα. Epicephisia. Thria or Thrio.
Hippotomada. Lacia. Laciade. Lusia. Melita. Oe or Æa. Perithe-
de. Pielea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrnide.

Πτολεμαίς.

Βερενκίδα. Θυρζωνίδα. Berenicide. Thyronide. Κορυδαλλί-
Conihyle.

Απλωνίς.

Απολλωνίς. Apollonienfes. These are all which Authors
make

Archæologie Atticæ Lib. I. Cap. 6.

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are,
which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients ei-
ther directing or furnishing me. But these are they. Agra.
Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia. Astipalea. Atalanta. A-
chradus. Belbina. Brannon. Bileffus. Enna. Echelide. Zoster.
Thrion. Cale. Ceda. Colbecide. Coele. Cynosarges. Cerami-
cia without the City the same with Academia. Laurium.
Leucon. Limna. Munychia. Parnes. Pryx. Panoclii his
ditch or trench. Scirum. Sporgilus. Hydrusa Hymettus. Hy-
sia. Phaura. Phormisii. Phritij. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus. To
which are put the Ilandes, called Pharmacusa, two in number,
and Pnytallia. The Scholast of Aristophanes speaks as if Io
were a Demus, but I say not with him! The greatest use we
have of these among authors, is in their forme of Law, mat-
ters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud
or deceite; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing,
or tax an other. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in
their writs. N. the son of N. dwelling at Alopeca, or Κοβανς, or
Melites, or Κεραμίων, of Cale. of Melite of Cerameis. In these
villages were Temples of the Gods, Live. Templum pagatum
sacrata. And againe Delibra sibi fuisse, que quondam pagatum
habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisq; consecrata, ne in unam
quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerint. So
much witnesseth Pausanias, who tells us that they worship-
ed some peculiar Deity, and yet neverthelesse did not adhvay
ἀγνν ἐκ τιμῆ, honour Minerva. Some of them had peculiar
festivalls, as Brannon the solemnities Brankonia, to Diana
Diomea to Iupiter Diomeus. Chilonia &c.

Τυραννίς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. Atheniensium status mutatio.
 Ιεροδ'ς Σωτήρων Μέγας. Δέξ.

The ancients had but three sorts of government. Tyranny, Democracy, Oligarchie, as ^d Æschines, which Polybius calls βασιλείαν, δεισκρασίαν, δημοκρατίαν. where although the one names it a Tyrannis or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as Servius on Virgil hath observed. A word taken up by the Grecians about the time of Archilochus, which neither Homer nor Hesiod knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as ἰδὸν π. πεπονδότες, for calling the Kings, or βασιλείς before the Trojan wars, Tyrants, or Tyrannos. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obedience is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, then for feare or might. Δεισκρασία an Aristocratie, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helme of the Weale publique. Δημοκρατία a Democratic, when the Lawes and customs of the Country, in matters belonging both to Gods and men, are truly observed; and that rules the rest, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δέξον τοῖς πλείοσι, saies, Polybius; as that may be said at a banquet to please all, which doth relish well with the most. But the grave Historian hath observed changes in such government, as they use to be inclining to the worst Mornachies being turned into Tyrannies; as when the people are led away by the persuasions of some pleasing a popular man, & are as it were, willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shall lay on them; a Tyrant indeed said, Viconsecutus, who gets it by violence, c Omnis autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate.

bertate usa est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an Aristocratie, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up, & exercised in virtue. The end of an Aristocratie being, as ^d Aristotle. d Pol. I. 4. c. 9. hath it, Virtue, which of no long continuance doth soone degenerate, c εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τραπίσις καὶ φύσιν, naturally enclining to an Oligarchie, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a state cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords & little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Lawes, who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred τοῖς ὑπὸ ἄρχαις, by their presidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, & not bearing τὰς ὑπὸ ἀρχαίων ἀδικίας, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a Democratic, which Sophocles calls, ὅτι πᾶσι πλείοσι λόγον, the power of a multitude; whose end is freedom; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges & immunities, who are true citizens: whence Terence stiles it *aquam libertatem*; for which the Greeke Oratours have properly used the word, πολιτεία, as Vlpian observeth. But the vulgar for the most part, In Demosth. strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass against the Lawes bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kinde of government an Ochlocratie, the rule of Rascality. All these in their times did Athens feeble, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty seven years: the last of which was Codrus, who in a fight between the Dorians and Athenians offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of Apollo that the Dorians should be conquerours unless the Athenian King were killed; he therefore clothing himselfe *familiari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies a Cicero, with a servants habit least he should be knowne

b Justin. 1. 2.

c Justin. 1. 2.

d Heraclides in Pol.

e Herodotus 1. 5. p. 135.

knowne, put himselfe amongst the enimies by one of which in a brawle he was murthered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, ^b quod memoria nominis ejus tributum est, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, Archontes or Judges ruled; in the Title, *ἄρχοντες* Archontes, but in power Kings, whose authority was for term of life. These continued three hundred and fiftene yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but tenne yeares; seaven succeeded eath other, & made up the number of seventie yeares; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore ^c *ἄννυι* Magistratus, yearely Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus*, for a fained feare of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety, For when the faction sprung up. Of which I have spoken in the fonth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lathes, and the Mules which drew his Charot, went into the place of meeting, *ἀγορὰν*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed ^d thirty yeares, and deceased leaving behind him two sonns, *Hippiarchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hippiarchus* was slaine by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the Athenians lived under a tyranny ^e foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the help of the Lacedemonians, the offspring of *Alcmeon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for councell he should wish them to free the Athenians of that servitude. The Democratie came in eight hundered sixty eight yeares after Cecrops, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fift rank of plebeitie from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weaking the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in Sici-

ly

by the *Τετρακόσιοι* or foure hudred tooke upon them state, deceaving the people, as ^f *Aristotle* and ^g *Thucydides* affirme. ^f *Protol.* 1. c. 57. For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* ^g *Lib.* 8. and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that meanes, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the war, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one & twenty yeare of the *Peloponensian* warre. These Princes were called ^a *πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι ἢ ὅντες*, Five thousand, though ^a *Plat.* in *Al-* not exceedeng foure hundred. The reason is, because they ^{cyb.} p. 148. boasted that none should be rewarded, but who beare armes; nor any admitted to publique power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an ^b Act of the people, ^b *Xen.* *ΕΛΛ.* 6 to which *Theramenes* was very forward; but after they were ^{274.} 1. 38. inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him *Κόδορνον* *Κοινην*, from a kind of start-up which did fit both feet. ^c *Xen.* *Π.* 275. *κὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόδορνος ἀμύρτειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν δόκει.* The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These *Τετρακόσιοι* were constrained for feare of ^d *Alcibiades* ^d *Justin.* 1. 5. to resigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the ^e *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Atheni-* ^e *Arist.* *Pol.* 1. ans a *Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be chiefe. ^f *Pol.* 5. c. 7. *Lyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, ^f *Xen.* *ΕΛΛ.* 6 *Mnesilechus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Arestas*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *P.* 270. *Cherileos*, *Anetius*, *Piso*, *Sophocles*, *Eratosthenes*, *Charicles*, *O-* *nomocles*, *Theognis*, *Æschines*, *Theogenes*, *Clomedes*, *Era-* *stratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Enmaithes*, *Aristoteles*, *Hippoma-* *chus*, *Mnesisthides*. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies ^g *Salust*, without triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; ^b some for envy, or ^g *In Catil.* *Consp.* ^h *Xen.* p. 272. ^h others for riches. These to make their party firme chose ^a about three thousand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their Lawes (for they made some

some, filed *ἰστανοὶ νόμοι*, which were nullified by a decree, as we shall speake hereafter) none was to suffer *ἐν τῷ λαῷ*, who was registred in the list of three thousand. So cruell were they, that the people fled into *ἡ Φυλὴ* a castle in the Athenian borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shooke off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander* even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in battle at the City *Lamia* gave the Athenians an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these termes that they should submit to a few Peers, whose revenewes amounted to two thousand Drachm'es at least, the chiefe of whom was *Demetrius Phalerius*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munichia* for the asswaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquit themselves; but in vaine. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none whose revenewes come not to tenne minæ or pounds, should undertake any function in the Common-weale; and he should be their overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalaris*,^a who made the City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrott a Treatise of the Athenian Republique, which, had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble & vexation had spent fourteene yeares he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* surnamed *Polioretes*, who restored the ancient customes to them againe. To them they ascribed such worship, as also to his father, that they changed the name of their Iudge from *Archon* into *ἱερεὺς*. The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the yeare after his name, and adding^{*} two Tribes to the

^a Vide Laerr. in vita, & Strabonem.

^b Plu. in Demerito.
^{*} Pollux. l. 8.

the Tenne, whencethe Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as^c *Stephanus*, But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and levity of the Athenians, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach nere their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne put in presidarie souldiers to the City, which tenne yeares after he tooke out. The Macedonians still kept some of the Athenians forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon.* F. & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands^d *Aratus* the Sicyonian rescued the City, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Phillip*, the last king of the Macedonian Monarchy except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who tooke the Athenians into league with a maintaining their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between the *Mithridates* and the Romans. For by feare they were driven to receive^e *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his Generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded *ἀνελεῖς ὄρασις*, a mercyleffe slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a nere resemblance of their former state; in favour with the Roman Emperours, *Julius Caesar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of the name, this City was ransacked by the Gothes, who when they had heaped up Innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were deterred by this reason, that the Greekes, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for war. *Constantine* the Great likewise had this City in high esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title *Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηνῶν*, as^a *Julian* saies, which in the word, of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is *τὸ τῆ μεγάλῃς Δυνάμεως (ὀνόμα)* the Grand Duke, whom simply afterwards

^c In *Berenice*,

^d Plut. in vita

^e Decad. 4. l. 1.

^a Vide *Appianum* Alex. in *Methridatio*, circa pag. 122. &c.

^b Plut. in vita p. 335.

^a *Cedrenus* *Baptista* *Fig.* *narius*. 8 cm. *Prin.* 1. *In* *Oracione* *Constantium* *Hist. Rem.* 1. 7. p. 166.

d Hist. Rom.
l. 7. p. 157.
e Nic. Greg.
lib. cita.

wards they called the Duke of Athens, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them Wives Citizens of this place; and the daughters of their Dukes have beene desired by that eminent ranke. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is said to have taken the City from the Spaniards that inhabit Arragon, *ἄρχοντες* *καὶ ἑσπερὶς* *παύτω* *ὅτι* *ἰβηρῆς*; who having no Issue male of his wife *Eubois* but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by an other woman, bequeathed by will *Bæotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his sonne recovered it agane. *Nerius* succeeded him in the Dukedome who thrust out *Chalcocondilus* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second got *Athens*, & whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his owne, he continued the Title. For an other *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his mother in the Childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose Government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondilus Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him by discourse and flattery, she intised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Principedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his owne wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City; who being hated of the *Athenians*, & complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himselfe the Childs Tutor And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus*, waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

* In the time
of Pietro Zani
came Am.
bassadors from
Athens to the
damage to the
Venetian Senate.
M: Leukenor in
hist. of the
Venetian Princes.
g Chalcocon.
l. 9. p. 299.

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not knowne to the Author slew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governor of *Pe-leponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bæotia*. He was the last Duke.

a Chalcocon.
p. 300.

E 2

L I B.





LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecem Dii Aihcniensium Idololatria septisariam commissa. Dii Adscriptitii. Θεοὶ Ἀγνώστοι.

^a Pag. 48.

^b In Tractu
ὡς ἡ ἑσθὲ τε
κακὸν θεῖας.
p. 669.



^c Sch. Eurip.
in Alcest. pag.
661.

^d Ξυπασ. ἰσορ.
in Stel. I.
e Pag. 260.

^f Pag. 281.

Herodotus in ^a Terpsichore is of opinion that the
Greekes derived their religion from the Æ-
gyptians. But ^b Plutarch doth stoutly deny it.
And not without good testimony may I affirme
that it seemes to be a falsitie. For Orpheus is
thought to have brought the mysteries of piety into Greece;
who washimselfe a Thracian, from whom the word ^c θρησκεία
is supposed to be drawne, which signifies devotion. Τὸ ἐν τῷ
πρῶν θεὸς ἐκάλεισαν θρησκεύειν, ὡς Θρακίας ἕως τὸ εὐρέσθαι, saies
^d Nonnus. They called θρησκεύειν, to worship God, &c. Ap-
positely to which ^e Aristophanes ἐν Βασίλειοις.
Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ πελάτας ὁ ἡμῶν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.
Orpheus showed us sacrificies and to abstaine from slaughter. Neither
is ^f Euripides disagreeing in Rhejo.

Μυστηρίων τε ἧς ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
ἠδείξεν Ὀρφεύς --- Orpheus revealed the hidden mysteries.
Herodotus names not the Gods, the worship of whom
the Greekes might borrow from the Ægyptians; Twelve in
number

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned. *Ἰν- gPaus. Attic.*
piter, Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Pan, Diana, Isis or p. 3. 118.
Ceres, Sais or Minerva, Latona, as I have gathered, which
all at once to have been made knowne to the Greekes, and
that by the Ægyptians is too hard a taske for me to prove.
The Athenians I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall ho-
nour, whose pictures they had drawne out in Gallery in
C^eramicus; and had an Altar erected, called ^h Βωμὸς τῶν δωδεκα ^h Plut. in Ni-
Θεῶν, on which a litle before the Sicilian warre, a man dis- cia. pag. 387.
membred himselfe with a stone; which was accounted pro- l. 26.
digious. By these twelve would they sweare in common dis-
course. ⁱ Μὰ τοὺς δωδεκα θεούς. The heathens thinking that they ⁱ Aristop.
did honor those Gods, by whom they sware; as I have else- Equ. p. 300. A
where spoken. But they were not confined to so small a num-
ber as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through
the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sonne, &
punishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in
^k Plutarch in the life of Pericles. Secondly defying the ef- ^k Vide Bod-
fects of God as Bread &c. For Clemens Alexandrinus inter- num in De-
prets Ἀνώ, Ceres, & σῖτον, corne or food. Thirdly the poeti- monologia.
call Gods. Furies and revengers of wickednesse, as *Alastores*,
Palamnei. Fourthly, the Passions, as Love, Pittie, Injury like-
wise, and Impudence, to whom Epimenides built an Altar at
Aihens. Fifthly the accidents of growth and nourishment,
hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities, *αὐξάνειν*, to increase, &
θάλλειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and
Atropas, the three fatall sisters, and *Εὐδωμένη* Necessitie, taken
sometime for death it selfe. 6^{ty}, the Theogonie or pedigree
of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which Homer
speakes. *Τεῖς γὰρ μύριοι*, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly an ig-
norance of the providence & bounty of God toward them,
tained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Æsculapius* the
God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can adde an eighth
way, namely hospitality & good entertainment of strange
Gods. *Ἀδύνατοι δ' ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες φιλοξενεῖται διαπελῶσι*, ἔτω

38 Archaeologia Attica Lib. 2: Cap. 1:

a Pag. 471. *ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ θεοὶ. φαίει α Strabo. as the Athenians love forrai-
ners, so forraine Gods. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἀπ' ἑω
b In Panath. Θεῶν, &c. Aristides. For they serve not only the most anci-
T. 1. p. 188. ent Deities in a peculiar manner above all their followers,
c Strab. p. 587 but have assumed adventitious ones; such as *Orithane*, *Conis-
jalus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive superstiti-
d Act. Apost. on, that when *Paul* preached *Jesus* and the Resurrection of the
c. 17. v. 18. Dead; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be
e In Attic. p. 1 a God And least they should omit any, they erected Altars
l. 35. unto the unknowne Gods, of which *Pausanias*. Neither may
we doubt of it the Scripture bearing witnesse. The cause of
this they say to be a fearefull vision appearing to *Philippides*,
sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against
the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*Pan* from whom *πα-
νικόν* à *spectrum*) was neglected and other Gods worshipped;
f Vide Eurip. promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious,
Sch. in Med. and fearing the like event, built a Temple, & Altar TO THE
p. 482. UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague
being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the
Gods they implored, furnishing some other power to have
sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which
was written ΘΕΟΙΣ] ΑΣΙΑΣ καὶ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΣ καὶ ΛΙΒΥΝΗΣ, Θεῶν Ἀγνώστων
καὶ Ξένων. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE,
AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND
g Pag. 137. STRANGE GOD. As *Iustin* & *Martyre* and *Oecumenius*.
much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Ci-
ties and houses, much of their *Heroes* or *Demigods*. We will
view them in order.*

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Νέμιος. Ἰκέσιος. Πολιεύχης. Βελαῖος. Φέρειος.
Φίλιος. Ομόγυνος καταβάτης. Ἐρχιος. Ἀργεῖος. Ξένιος. Mo-
dii salis edendi, *Tessera hospitalis* seu *Symbolum*. *Apollo*
Ἰσχυραῖος. παῖς ὧς. Ἀλεξίπικτος. Θυραῖος. Πάαν, & ejusdem
verbi origo. *Mercurius* Παλιγυράπικτος. Εὐκένιος. Στυραῖος. Περ-
πύλαιος.

Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high e-
steeme. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when
the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their kingdoms, they
were charged to make choise of *Jupiter*, α *θεοπέρας* ὃ Δία a Sch. Aristop
Βασιλεία. And so by *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. p. 122.
Him they worshiped as President of Law and Justice, under b In Nubibus
the name of *Jupiter* c *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* c Dem. in
named Νέμιος) Him as God of supplicants, hence d Ἰκέσιος, Him Mid. p. 251.
as Protector of Cities, hence e πολιεύχης. Him d Ulpian in
director of their Councils, hence Βελαῖος. Him as cheife of their Paus. p. 18. l.
Societies, hence φέρειος, and of their frendshipe too, hence φί- 40. Who
λιος; & of kindred likewise, hence ομόγυνος. To him they a thinks Sylla
scribed Thunder, hence ε Ζεὺς καταβάτης, as much as comming with lice by a
downe in thuder. To him they thankfully acknowledged judgment,
their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, that flew Ari-
hence f ἐλκεδνέος. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence fion suppli-
g ὕπατος. Him the overseer of their buying and selling, hence antly flying
* Ἀργεῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their of Minerva.
houses, hence *Jupiter Hercæus*, from ἔρχος a wall, as if hee e Aristoph. A-
were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorius*. Ἐρχιος vib. p. 626,
Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω πρὸς πύλιν αὐλῶν, αἰθεῖος ἢ δοκεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἔδουσιν f Plut. & Paus.
Διὶ ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ἔρχος. There was also an Altar to him before the g Pausan.
gates, of which h Ovid. -- Ante adis stabat Iovis Hospitis ara, p. 917.
hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the God of strangers and h Metamorph
hospitality So solemn were they in their entertainements,
that

i Eustath. in that they would not receive a stranger without great cere-
 monies such as giving the right hand each to other i *πρώτοι*
 II.3. *ως δηλοπικόν*, a most certaine signe of fidelitie, and security; as
 k pag. 27. But Eustath saies also washing & clesing with salt, or salt water, as k Tzet-
 that they did also washing & clesing with salt, or salt water, as k Tzet-
 set salt before *ως* on Lycophron; whence it is caled *ἀγνίτης πάγος*. Salt they
 any other highly esteemed of, ever upbrading violated hospitality with
 meat to stran- *πᾶς ἄλλης*, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought
 gers. to be said of the community of the table m *ἐξῶν ἢ δὲ δειλόντων*
 i Demosth. p. *μὴ κακουργεῖν τὸν ὁμοτραπέζης καὶ συνεσίου*, customes shewing that
 241. fellow-commoners, and as feed of the same table must
 m Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28 not injure one an other, to which the old saying may well a-
 n Cic. de A- green *multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut Amicitie munus*
 micitia. Eu- expletum sit, Men must eat many bushells of salt together, be-
 stath saies fore they can be perfect friends; meaning that frendship is
 that it beto- not so soone established. But I take salt, of the lustration,
 kens love per- to which also they added fire, as you may see in o Aristopha-
 manent. For nes. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling
 salt preserves Jupiter to witnesse, and using these words in the time of sacri-
 And as it is fice, p' *Εἰς Δία ἔστιον ἀμάρτεῖν, εἰ περὶ ὧν ἔλυσ*. Let my trespassse
 lettings in of be against Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemne, or neglect stran-
 water, so they gers. And for the continuation of this even to their posterity
 who come from divers places they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie
 by hospitality keeping one peece, the other party the other halfe, that when
 are made one. occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in
 In *λα-πιδό* need of other, q *ἐπαχρόνιστον ἢ μισυ ἀσφαλίον, ἀναγνόντο τὴν ἑ-
 o In Acharn. νίαν*, bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might re-
 p. 414. vide νίαν, bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might re-
 Sch. new their hospitallity. This they call *σύμβολον* Symbolum a to-
 p Eustath. in ken, which sometimes they would send to their acquain-
 II. 1, tance in others behalfe, as Iason in Euripides offers to Medea
 q Eurip. Sch. to doe. *Πέμπειν τὸ ἔξενοις σύμβολ' οἱ δὲ δέχονται αὐτῷ*. And to send a
 pag. 445. Symbolum or token to strangers that shall courteously enter-
 a As πολισύς taine you. But of this enough, as also of Iupiter, whom cele-
 Aristophan. brated in a other Epithits I know by the Athenians. Apollo
 ὀμβειός. was next in request to Iupiter, invoked in danger or sudden
 Pausan. &c. events, hence *ἀποτρόπαιος*, from *ἀποτρέπειν*, to turne away, as if
 b Aristophan. he
 πλ. p. 86.

he should deliver them from eminent evill, for which reason
 he is called *Alexicacus*. c *Apollinem aspellentem mala intelli-*
gas, quem Athenienses Αλεξίκακον appellant. He was one of the c Macrob. Sat.
 first Gods they had, hence he is termed *πατρῷος*, but e others d Aristoph.
 thinke because he was the father of Ion. f *Macrobius* is of o Nub. p. 203.
 pinion, because the Sun the same with Apollo is the Author e Aristop. Sch.
 of progenerating all things quod sol humoribus exsiccatis pro- p. 611. g.
 generandis omnibus prebuit causam. To him stood Altars in f Satur. i. p.
 their streets hence is he *ἀγυαῖς*, as if he were set over their g Macrob. Sat.
 waies c *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomeria sunt, ἀγυαῖς*. This A- i. c. 9.
 gyens was a sharpe pillar. h *κίων ὃ ἐστὶν ὡς εἰς ὃν ἀγῶν*. Al- h Schol. Eurip.
 though the Greekes, as *Macrobius* saies, did worship him as i Phæ. p. 322.
Θυγαῖον, exitus & introitus potentem, one that kept the dores i Sat. i. c. 9.
 of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in
Pausanias. famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which
 though I have taken occasion to speake elsewhere, yet this is
 a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall
 derivations of the Greekes, which you read in k *Athenæus* k In fin. lib.
 When the Athenians asked helpe of the Oracle at Delphos 14. Dip.
 against the Amazons, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid
 them implore his succour in these words *ἰε Παιῶν*. l *Hanc vo-* l Macrob. Sat.
 cem, id est i *Παιῶν*, confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum A- l. i. c. 17. pag.
 theniensibus, petentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, *Theseo* 253.
regnante. Namque iniuros bellum iussit his ipsis verbis semetip-
sum auxilliatorem invocari, hortarique. I doubt not but the
 words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the
 ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, saies the m Scholiast of Aristophanes m In Plut. p.
 is a song or hymne praying for the ceasing of a plage, or war 68.
 nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io*
 n *Scaliger* hath already found, *Iao*, & *Io* being contracted by n Græc. Trag.
 the Greekes for *Jehovah*; *Pæan* then comes from *πᾶν* to look,
 so that *Io Pæna* is in force *Jehovah Penoh*, LORD LOOKE.
 UPON us, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as
 possible he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare ho- o Vide Sir
 nour, if he could. The remnants of these words the o Symerons Fr. Drake.

a people of the West-Indies use, who in their fighting, dance, and leap and sing *Υἱὸς Πέλο*, at this day. Mercury is hallowed by the name of *Παλιγύργη* or *Ἐμπολά*, denied to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. Ach. p. 410. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soone grow rich, wherefore this God is termed *Ἐπεινό*, Very profitable, from *ἐπεί*, an augmenting word, and *νό* to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the Market place caled *Ἐρμῆς Ἀγορά*. The entry of their houses was sacred to him; from which he is named *Περύλα*, as likewise *Ἐρφα* from *ἐρφαίν*, to turne, because he was set up behinde the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *Aristoph. Schol.*

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. ἄνακτες.

*S*aturne was worshipped by the Athenians, witness the feasts kept in honor to him called *Κεβνία*: witness a Temple which he had in Athens. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirme any thing, He seemes to have beene of old, as I conjecture out of *Κεβνία γυναι*, *Saturninae animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. Vulcan likewise had his honor there, and a Temple, of which *Demosthenes*; where was one of the Athenian prisons some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *Demosthenes*. Neptune was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in navigation, hence *Ἀσφάλει*. Mars also had his worship, and Temple, and Hercules too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles* revealing unto him the sacrifice of one who had stolen a golden cup out of his Temple: caled therefore *Μηνυτής* as *Index Hercules*, as *Tully*. Neither

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonized more daily, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them *ἄνακτες*. *ἄνακῶς* ὃ ἔχει τὸ ἐπιμελεσθῆναι p. 11. l. 25. ἢ φυλάττειν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖσθαι ἀνακτὴς διὰ τὸ καλεσθῆναι. For they who have a care & watch of any thing doe diligently observe it *ἄνακῶς ἔχειν*. For which Kings perhaps are called *ἄνακτες*, as keepers of their people. The Scholast of *Euripides* teaches us that *ἄναξ* properly signifies a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be *ἄναξ Κυλλήνης*, the Tutelar God of Cylene. And *Apollo* in *Homer*. *χρίσας ἱπὶ ἄνδρας*. The word is simply put for God in *Aristophanes*, *τὸν ἐν θεῷ ἄνακτα καὶ Σωτῆρα* καὶ *ἄνακα*. To these may be *γντ Harmidius* and *Aristocriton*. *Lycomedes*, *Theseus*, *Alon*, *Helychus*, *Aristomachus* the Physitian. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Selanion* and *Parrhasius* that made the statue of *Theseus*.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate Junone, Prometheo, &c.

*M*inerva the especiall deity of the Athenians, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longe maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, as *Cicero* saies, were greatest and most hidden: therefore caled *mysteria* from *μυεῖν*, to hide death and curse on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *Eleusinia*, of the initiation into these stews. They were of two sorts. Greater to *Ceres*, lesse to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the sonne of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionysia* *parva* and *Magna* *Venus* had her honor, and sacrifice in which they offered to her many the price of an whore *Eumenides* were first adored

k In Theogonia.

l Paus. p. 27.

l. 3.

m In Eumen.

p. 275.

n Aristoph. p.

228.

o Loco citato.

dored by *Orestes* after he escaped the Iudgement at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμνὰ θεαί, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at mid-night, a custome peculiar to them alone, as *m* *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am ignorant that *n* *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nictelius*. But the Tragœdian.

ο καὶ νυκτίσμενα δειπνα ἐπ' ἐξάρα πύρρως

ἔθουσιν ὄραν ἔδενδς κοινὴν θεῶν.

p In Oedipo. Col. p. 271.

Scholiast: ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεσσηνικῷ μόναις Εὐινύσιν ἀπὸ δρόν. By *P. Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set downe. First having

q Æschylus loco præd.

cleane hands & pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *q* γυνάλια μελίσματα) the mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll of a young sheep, turning himselfe towards the East, he powdered out some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands setting thre nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his χόας, he uttered his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken.

r Vide Interp. Hor. in illud Diva triformis.

s Aristop. Sch. p. 53.

t Pag. 64.

u *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *trivium*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moone in Heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. f To her the richer sort every new Moone made a feast in the crosse wayes setting bread & other provision, which the poore greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes* complains, that they snacht it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to

x In Orat.

ωρὲς κόρωνα.

p. 693. n. 59.

this hath *Ἐκατεῖα κατεδίεν*, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *Demosthenes*, which he seemes to object, as a sordid or wicked thing, Indeed *βαμολόχ*, which signifies on that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the altar, imports sometimes *impious*, *βαμολόχ* ἀσεβής. Schol. * *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tells us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. * ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γὰρ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσιν. *Innoes* rites

* In Nubes p. 176.

z In Plut. 63.

were

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders & downe the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that *a* *Ἡγεῖον βαδίζειν*, *Iunonem* *incedere* is to goe stately. *Prometheus* was worshiped in a kinde of Torch-dance, or running with likes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stolne out of Heaven. To say more of their Gods were needlesse either for you to read or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of latter making, introduced by *b* *Philippides*, and ** Σφραγιδες Νύμφαι*. *Sphragiides Nymphae* after the *Persian* overthrow.

a Vide Schottum in Proverb. Isaacum Athen. l. 12. c. 5. p. 388. p. b Cl. Alex. * Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ Ἀνθήλιοι. Εἰσμαί. *Phacasi Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their dores erected statues which they called *θεοὶ ἀνθηλίοι*, because they were exposed to the Sunne. Neither had they these alone, but certaine others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ Mercurialls*. The fashion of them was divers. For first they were not *ἀνθηλίοι*, *perrecto vereiro*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who receaved it from the *Palatigi*, as *d* *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legges, untill the *Athenians* made them *ἀκώλεις*, according to *e* *Pausanias*. The manner was this, *A* face of *Mercury* set upon a pilar of four corners the head only and necke were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus* *f* *Sat. v. 852*, *Hermes*, *f* *Iuvenal*,

Nil nisi Cecropides, truncosq, simillimus Hermæ.

Nulla quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod

Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

For which reason likewise the *Greekes* name them *εἰς ἄκρας*, without limbs. On the lower pars of them were certaine verses engraven, containing the praises of some well deserving

g Vide Ulpian in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbaine in Notis ad Longinum. *ἀεὶ ἔψας.*

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seeme to me to have beene set up in that gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly knowne by *Ἑρμῶν Σπῶ* the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kinde of gruell which was of no great preparation; Because they would not stand long about it. Hence *ἕλως* may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. *h Aristophanes. χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμβρόμενον Ἑρμίδιον;* *Schol. Ἑρμίδιον ἂν πὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ.* in *Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to add something of the forme of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward as if they were more willing to receive then bestow any thing. To which *Aristophanes* alludes saying, *καὶ γὰρ θεοὶ. γινώσκει δ' ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τε καὶ ἀσχημάτων. ὅταν γὰρ ἐν γόμφῳ δίδουσι τὰ μαθὰ. "Εσηκεν ἐκλείνοντα πῶς χεῖρ ὑπὲρ, οὐχ ὡς τῆ δώσον;" ἀλλ' ὅπως τιλήψε.* Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some great thing they stand with their hands upward, as if they would send downe nothing but rather take oblation. To tell you likewise that these Idols were clothed, is no news doubtlesse to on meanely verded in the Greeke antiquities. To say that they were shoes to is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phæcasiæ*, from *φακασίαι*, a kind of low shoes which the *Athenians* called *κονίποδες*, from *κόνη*, dust, and *πῆς*, the foote because they were nere the ground. *Διὰ τὸ πελάζειν μοι δοκεῖν τῇ κόνῃ τὸ πῆς,* saies *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more sure I am that the were pictured with them on their feet. *c Juvenal.*

*Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polyclesti
Phæcasiæ vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

Long since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies ^d a worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended. Purification after fearefull dreames, in *Aristophanes ὄνειρον σποκλύζειν*. In which sence some understand *Persius. Noctem flumine purgare*. Wearing of rings against witchcraft as a spell, called *δουκτυλίας φαρμακίτας*. ^e Spitting into their bosomes thrice at the sight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus, τὲς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπυστα κόλπον*. I know not whether the custome of our silly people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Divell. Certaine it is that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence *πύειν* is put for *καταφρονεῖν* and *ἐν δὲ λόγῳ τένειν* to contemne or set little by, as the *Scholiast of Sophocles* on these words; *πύει; ὡς εἰ δουκὺν ἤ.* Washing with water the head as often as he shall goe into the streets *καὶ κεφαλῆς λείσασθαι*; ⁱ *Theophrastus*. Anointing of stones, ⁱ *Charact.* divers it seemes from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed *Ἑρμαῖες*. This hath beene of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfullnesse by ^k *Jacob* in *Bethell*, where he tooke the stone that he put for his pillowes, & set it up, & powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houses, Serpents seene *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ*, saies *Theophrastus*, of which ^a *Terence* *Introit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decedit de tegulis. Gallina cecenit.* Put to these ^b *Cat* or *Weesel* (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the Mouse eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whose clothes the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide him.

hPag. 693.

aConcion.
F. 747.bPæd. l. 2. c.
11. p. 152.
cSat. 3. v. 217d Donat. i n
Ter. p. 67.
e Ranis p. 274
vide & Æsch.
in Persi.f Aristop. Pl.
p. 88. f.
g Thoph. Ch.
p. 49.

h Antigonem:

i Charact.

k Gen. 28. 18.

a In Phor.

Ac. 4. Sc. 4.

b γαλή.

Theop.

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as Chemnitz hath observed, and c Euripides brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the standing upon a grave was a great religion; *ὁπβλῶαι μνήμασι*. Furthermore observing of daies good & bad, of which d *Hesiod* ἀλλή μιν τευαδ, ἀλλή ὃ μί- πρ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. e Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the f Moone; not knowing the reason why she did loose her light, at that time, when shee was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*. ὠκυπέκει ὠνισάμην. Of the virtue I speake nought. g *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joine to this the sneezing over the right shoulder, or the right side, h *Παρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν*. observation of *Διοσημέας*, or sudden stormes, as the i Sch. of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. k Cutting off their haire, and sacrificing it to rivers, as, *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the owle, whence came the proverb, l γλαῦξ δι- ἐπτατο, The Owle hath fled. And γλαῦξ ἵπτα for good lucke, The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. m ἡ πρὶ- σις τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it so since the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greekes* seeing an Owle tooke courage and beat the *Barbarians*. Appendix *Vaticana*. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ πάντες διεξήθους θάρρη- σαντες Ἕλληες ἐνίκησαν. Other madnesse of theirs was slee- ping in the n Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, o for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I mistake not. What shall I say of putting him to death who should cut downe an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in *Greece* is *πειρίδιον* may be taken, I thinke it an Holme) in the *Herom*; And punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distra-

cted had slaine a sparrow sacred to *Æsculapius*? thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophesyings. *Æschylus* brings *Prometheus* on the stage, vaunting how first he taught men * *Ὀνειροκλειπὸν· Οἰωνιστικὸν· Ἡπα- * Vide Sch. τικὸν· Ουτικὸν*. All which were practised among the *Atheni- pag. 32. ans*, as you may read in a *Xenophon*. *Ὀνειροκλειπικὸν*, the interpreta- a *Απομνη. α. initio.* tion of dreams, is a resolution of those doubts, which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in sleep, as that of *Hecuba* dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; & that of *Atossa* before the fall of her sonne *Xerxes*, whom she saw striving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greeke* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ἐνύπσιον ἰδεῖν, *Æschylus*, ascribing much to the truth of them, suppo- sing them to be sent from a Deity --- κὶ γὰρ ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν. b *Homer*. The skill in them is εἰς ὀνειροπόων ἀ καὶ παραφροσύνης, b *Iliad*, 1. κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους γνωρίζειν to truly tell the event. Which c *Æschylus*. Pro- was no small art, certain Books written of that subject, p. 33. d κὶ εἰσὶν ἔργα τοῖς τινες τέχνηαι ὀνειροκλειπικαί as *Artemidorus* his d *Eust.* in *Il. a.* *Onirocritica*. *Οἰωνιστικὸν*, Soothsaying by birds when such or p. 36. such flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to shew what it doth prognosticate. e *Æschylus*. Γαμψὼν e *Pag 33.* νύχων τὲ πρὶν ὀϊωνῶν σκεδρῶς διώκειτ' οἱ τινὲς δεξιῶν φύσιν. Ευώ- νυμοί τε, κὶ δαιταν ὠπνα ἔχουσ' ἔκαστοι, κὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πίνες. f *Aristides* T. f *3. p. 25.* Ἐχθραὶ τὲ κὶ σέρσηθρα κὶ σιωπείαι. It was formerly stiled f *οἰ- νοϊστική*, ἅτε ἐκ διανοίας ποιεῖται μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ οἰήσει σημείων, which the mind doth suggest to the opinion. It is put for a- ny divination in *Greek* writers, but most properly ὀρνεοσκοπη- πικον, which g *Telegonius* is related to have found according to g *Nonus Nonnus*, but according to h *Plinie*, Car; whence it is called Σιωγ. 1. 5. Caria: *Ἡπατικὸν*, looking into the Liver or entrals, like the α οβ. Latines *extispicium*, observing the colour of them. f *λοβῆ τε* h *Nat. hist.* 1. 7 ποικίλῳ ἐμμεσφίαν; as likewise the soundnesse, hence taken as c. 56. a prodigie *λοβὸς ἐκ ἔχων κεφαλῇ*, in k *Plutarch*, the extremity k *Pag. 357.* of the liver (like the outmost parts of the vine leafe, saies *Isti- dor*) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head, l. 31. C *Ovid.*

c In *Hip. p.*
603. vide etiā
Eustath. in
Il. α.
d *ἐν ἔργῳ* κὶ
h *κ.*

e *Plut. Nici.* 2.
p. 123. l. 35.
f *Plut. Nici.*
p. 392. l. 21.

g *Lib. 4. c. 11.*

h *Plur. Them.*
p. 85. l. 23.

i In *Ach. p.*
379. & p. 424

k *Paul. Att. p.*
35. l. 31. vide

Eust. in *Il. B.*

l *Aristop. Ve-*
spis. p. 508.

m *Zenobius.*

n *Aristop. pp.*
44, 66. T. 438

o *Petronius.*

p *Ælian.*
ποικ. 1. 5.

17.

1 Æsch. loco citato.

2 In An. p. 574

3 In Oed.

Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Fast.

d Sch. Aristop

loco citato.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus:

g In Vesp.

pag. 503.

h lb. p. 502.

Ovid, cæsumque caput reperitur in extis. θυπκὸν, in marking the flame of the sacrifice burnt, *ἡ φλογὸς τῶν σήματα*, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could tell events. More doubt-lesse had they wayes of witchcraft, as the other Greekes. *ἐνόησαν*, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you. *Æschylus* termes them *ἐνοήσεις συμ-βόλους* Sch. τὸ ἐξ ὑπαντήσεως. See Scaliger in *Tibullum*, on these words *Phœr è trivis*. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* on *ἐξέμβολον ὄρνιν*, They made, quoth he, whom they met first as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the salutation which *Sophocles* calls *εὐρήμια σήματα φροντίδ' ὅ*, wishing luck, as *χαῖρε* among the Greekes, & the Latines *c* *Esto bene* *nis avibus visus* &c. *Σύμβολον* is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to *d* *Ceres*, as the Greekes, whence proceeded that *ζήσεις*, which we intimate in our *God helpe you*, as often as we see any man so purging his head, which not to have proceeded from any deadly disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. *Οικοσκοπιτικὸν*, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat or the like in the house, or when the oyle cruse is dry, honey, wine, water is spent, to guesse at future things. On this *e* *Xenocrates* wrote. *χειρὸς ἡρα-πιτικὸν*, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the table, they can judge of freenes in housekeeping, of marriage & posterity, of which *f* *Helenus* once left a monument. *Παλαιστικὸν*, gather'd out of the shaking of the parts of the body as the shoullder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Posidonius* was an author exposed to the world. *Εγγραμμυθία*, as that wherein the *Witch of Endor* was experienced, out of the lower parts of whose belly the Divell spake. The first that praetised this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*: hence they who are possessed with this spirit of prophecy, are called *Ευρυκλῆϊ*. *Euriclita*, as the *g* Schol. of *Aristoph.* who calls this art *h* *Ευρυκλῆϊς μαντεία*, the divining of *Eurycles*. *Νεκρομαντεία*, where after solemne sacrifices they were wont to call up the soules

soules of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As *i* *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held *i* *De Magis* the spirits of their parents and kinred for Gods, *quibus sacri- Inf. l. 2. c. 11.* *ficabant* (saies Bodin) & *ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in k* *Damono-* *quos scriptura invebens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mania l. 2. c.* *3.* *mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed: against whom the Scripture inveighing and detesting speaketh, *And they ate the Oblations of the dead*. Of this *1* *Aristophanes* makes mention, and *Homer* in his *Odyssees*. This is that which most properly is called *μαντεία* from *μαν* & *la-* *In Avib. p.* *mentation*, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, *a* for with *613. a.* *greate mourning* they invoked *κακαποιὲς δαίμονας*, wicked *a* *Nonnus in* *Gods* for the accomplishment of their devilish designs. It *Naz.* *may* most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia* *b* for so the *b* *Vide Bodin* *Wizards* divide them into the black and white Magick. *Μα-* *γεία*, from whence the word *Magick* is derived, seemes to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi* great Philosophers, as *d* *Laertius* is wit- *c* *Vide Non-* *nesse*. This is supposed to be the good Magick. *επικλησις ὅτι Nonnus.* *δαίμωνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τιν' οὖσαν φαρμακεία*, is a giving of *philtum*, a medicine for the procurement of love, or rather enraging of lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten; which to have power over swine is credibly reported. *κοσκινομαντεία* Tricks with a paire of sheeres and live, of which *Theocritus*. *f* *Ἀξινομαντεία*, to take coun- *f* *Vide Odyss.* *cell* of an hachet, taking it & laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key *γίβλη*. *Ἀστρομαντεία*, by the casting of the dice to aske the number of wives, children, farmes, &c. which answer to the quantity of a chance. *g* *Ἀλ-* *g* *Vide Theo-* *φίπμαντεία* & *Ἀλφειομαντεία*, done by corne. *h* *Λειθομαντεία*, *crit. in Phar.* *by* taking the letters of the name, as when two were to *b* *Delrio Dis-* *fight* & by the value of them to judge the conquest: As they *qui. Mag. l. 4.* *said* of *Heſtors* being overcome by *Achiles*. *Ὀρνιθομαντεία*, *c. 2. q. 5. sec. 7.* *ma-* *king* a circle they divided it into foure and twenty parts, *G 2* *and*

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the graine, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. Σπιχειομαντία, opening a book of Homer and by the first verse that they lighted upon, to divine, as that of the death of Socrates, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of Homer, which speakes of the arrivall of Achilles within three daies at Thes-saly. ⁱ Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c. and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busy in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the Sibylline Oracles, & the private Grecians to the verses of Homer. And that Sors was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words Sortes Delphicæ, for fore-telling or divination. ^a I know the shee Priest of Apollo being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsaile. Whence the word ^bμαντική at this time read for Soothsaying, was anciently called ^cμανικὴ madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery, is as cleere as day, the ^c Scholiast of Euripides testifying, done it seems in matters of question, ^dτο καλὸν δέχεται may intimate as much as to undergoe triall. Predictions there were, ^dsaith Eustath, out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde ^eαεθρομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it Aristophanes in Nubibus, which I now remember not.

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Aylis.

Their Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods in Greek νεῶς, or ἱερά. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly σηκοί. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragoedians. Clemens Alexandrinus is of opinion that the

first originall of their Temples was the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceased. ^e νεῶς μὲν ἐν σήμῳ ὀνομαζομένης, ^e Vide p. 22. πάρος δὲ ἡγομένης, τετέστι πρὸ πάρος νεῶς ὀπινεκλημένης. Cecrops buried in the Acropolis, Erichonius in the Temple of Minerva Polias, the daughters of Celeus in Eleusis, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ^fἐξω περὶ ῥανθίων, the other ^fἔσω. ^f Casaubon tells us that περὶ ῥανθίων was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with Charact. which every one that entred into the Temple besprinkled himselfe, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the Adytum, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Priests to come. The ^g Schol. of Sophocles thus describes the Church. Νεῶς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude table or stock, ^a σάνις ^a Protreptic. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it, as that of Iuno Samia, afterward made in the magistracy of Procles to be a statue. At first named ^bξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀποξείδωξ τὴν ἑλκῆς, from the shaving of it; ^b Idem. but when art began to be so expert, as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βρετὸς mortalis, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these ceremonies: That a Woman neatly trimmed & deckt in a purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease, and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulnesse for their first food, ^c εὐχαισθέντες ἀπονέμοντες τὴν πρώτην διαίτην. For as much as I conceive out of Pollux, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερόν or ναὸς, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. ^d Λυτὰ δὲ ἀδραπέδοις, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἔστι θεῶν, &c. Farthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greeke Ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summa templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seemes to have been a Treasure both for the Church, and

CAP. VIII,

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceive to have beene divers sorts, Παράδοτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in later times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, put for a shark or smel-feast, *Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteeme. For when they had set aside such a parcell of land as they thought the renewes thereof would suffice for the sacrifices of such & such Gods, they chose certaine men who should receive or gather the harvest, *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν ἱερῶν σίτην ἐκλογίζοντο αἰρέμενοι. With the incoms of this were the charges of those publique sacrifices defraied. Hence *προσόδια μεγάλα* *Introitus magni*, great yearly substance, is used for great sacrifice in *Aristophanes*. Scholiast. ἄνω ὃ ἐλεγον τὰς προσπαρμύδας τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαις. *Kéryces*. *Ceryces*, the same signifies a cryer, but in sacred functions a Minister, who slew and offered the victim. *Anthenio* the Comœdian ascribes much honour to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth victuals, the flesh of sheepe and oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from *Ceryx* the sonne of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But *Casaubon*. *ἄνω τῶν Κερύκων*. *præstantiore parte muneris quod edebant, sic dicti. Idem namque hostias macerabant, adolebantque &c.* They in the time of divine rites craved the silence of the people in these words, *Εὐφημεῖτε. Σίγα πάς ἕως λεώς*. Be whilst all ye people. Good words, for *εὐφημεῖν* signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he saies *Malè ominatis Parcite verbis*. When sacrifice was ended they dismissed the congregation with these words *λαὸν ἀφραϊς*. To which custome he unfitly looked, who derived the Masse from *Missa est, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by *Wechselius* from *Masah* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise, *Μυσάωροι*, the same

54 Archæologiæ Atticæ Lib: 2: Cap: 7:

e Laertius in vita. p. 122. vide ad eum locum Gal.

any soever, who fearing the security of his wealth would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. Martial points at this when he saies,

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to doe those offices of nature, I meane venting of excrements, too shamelesly seen among us in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination; punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the Attick ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that taxation, as they made the *ἀελοραμία* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although for bidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one stranger whom he caused to be whipt, with this proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickednes, they were wount proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himselfe in the Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number. *Κρεῖττον ὢν αὐ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ σποταῖσθαι*. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of Sanctuary, to which who should fly, might not from thence be drawne out under a trespasse upon religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva*, & *Theseus*, the altars of the *Eumenides*, & *Mercy*, whose image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof there had a Grove.

The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have beene in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidae*.

a Vid. Rosin.
b Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. they are presented sitting neere the Altar. T. p. 472.

CAP.

b Meursius E-
leusin. in c. 13

c In Stel. 1.
p. 63.

d L. Mountac.
of Chichest.

e In Alexiph.
p. 144.

f Arist. Ec.
p. 125.

g T. 2. p. 621.

h In Politic.

i In Plut. p. 71

k Casaub. in
Theoph.

l Arist. p. 481.

m Arist. p. 101

n In Plut. p. 71

same with ^b *ἱεροφάντης*, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a yeare compleate, permitted to see their Bable) ^c Schol. Naz. *ἱεροφάντης* ὅστις τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. Hierophanta so called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερὰ, opening the holy things. ^d *Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱερεῖς*. The learned Bishop upon that place of Nazianzen, notes that Moses among the Israelites was an Hierophanta, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses. *Πυρρόεσι*, they who lighted the fire at the Altar, whose office made them safe in warre & danger. Hence of bloody fight we say *ἐν πυρρόεσι*, Ne ignifer quidem, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. *ἱεροποιοί*. The Priests in the Great Mysteries, tenne in number, *Νεωκόεσι* whom ^e Nicander calls *ζάκοεσι* from ^f *κορεῖν* τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they kept the Temples cleane, and swept them, as Ion in ^g Euripides speaks. These were the *ναοφύλακες*, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies ^h Aristotle. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a Law enacted, that what they laid out should be restored again. *ἱερεῖς* in ⁱ Aristophanes likewise termed *ωρόπολοι*. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, ^k whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, ^l the trotters and skinnies, as the ^m Ceryces the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, For there being tables in their Temples, as Casaubon teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (& perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomach did share. Well known to ⁿ Aristop. who relates the like of the Priest of Æsculapius. It was requisite to this function, that they who undertook it, should be sound both wind and limb, they being asked *ἐν ἀφελείᾳ* before their Creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremony to have been used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their

neighbours wives bearing record, saies ^a Christianus, that ^a In Aristop. they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover these Priests as the *Βασιλίσσα*, in Demosthenes, ^b Antiq. 1. 2. and the *Κανηφόροι* whom in all things ^b Dionysius Halicarnas- n. 3. seus compared to the vestall Nunnes.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philosophy is of opinion that Sacrifices first begā after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called *ἀπαρχαί*, from whence *ἀπαρχή* is read generally to doe any sacrifice. Neither doth *ἀκροθίνια* import lesse. For ^c *σύν* signifies the ^c Vide Schol. bend, or great chest of the garnet, wherein they laid up the Eur. in Phæn. harvest threshed & winnowed; *ἀκρον*, the first or beginning, as P. 291. if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The Attick oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before Solons age, burnt offering, who willed in his lawes, that they should be *ἐκκείτα ἱερεῖα*, chosen and selected ^d Plut. p. 65. sacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different 1. 26. they called their leane from those in the daies of Homer, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to ^e *περεσπυρίζων* sacrifices *κῆ- ον, hornes & purify themselves some certain daies before, e* *περεσπυρίζων* sacrifices *κῆ- ον, hornes & haires, as if* ^f *ἀγνίσκειν* here to abstaine from carnall delights. Tibull-Disce- naught else, ^f *Quos tulit hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus*) To which Arist. p. 584. purpose Theano being asked when it might be lawfull for a ^e Demosth. woman, frō the company of a man to goe to sacrifice; answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered with

f In pace. p. 695. *with* these *ἑλοχῶ* - *the* *ἑλοχῶ* - *Greeks* ever began sacri- *fice, the Ro-* *mans* *Far.* *Dionys. Hal.* *l. 2. n. 4.* *h Loco laud.* *i Athen. l. 9. p. 409.* *a Sophocles* *Oed. Tyr.* *b Aristoph. p.* *c Iliad. a.* *d Iliad. a.* ** Mneia.* *e In Stel.* *f Eustath. p.* *101. l. a.* *g Loco laud.* *with flower and salt, in* *Aristophanes* *ὁλα* *in* *g Homer* *ἑλοχῶ*) *with which they cut the throat of the* *viſtime.* *Then they* *purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards* *it.* *h Aristophanes.* *Περίθι τ βωμόν παχέως ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ.* *This lu-* *stration was made with meale & holy-water sprinkled there-* *on.* *This water is called* *ἡ χερνίψ* *in which they quenched a* *firebrand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed* *the standers by, accounting it a kinde of cleansing. (Hence* *a χερνίβει νέμειν* *was forbidden him whō they took for a pol-* *luted and forlorne rogue) Then they cast some of the flower* *on them.* *And having thus expiated, they cried out* *ἦ τίς τῆδε;* *Who is here? to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ χάριδοί.* *Many* *and good.* *Then they prayed.* *c Homer* *Εξείης ἔστισαν εὐδμητον* *ᾧ βωμόν. χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ἑλοχῶτας ἀνέλοντο, τοῖσιν δ'* *χρύσις μεγάλη δ' ἔτετο χεῖρας ἀναχών.* *Among the latter they* *spake with a loud voyce* *εὐχόμεθα,* *before they began.* *Let us* *pray.* *Supplications ended they drew the* *viſtime* *so as (if it* *were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards,* *which* *d Homer* *ᾧ ἐρύειν.* *Eust.* *εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἄνω ἔδουον, ἀνακλᾶν τ* *τὸ ἱερεὺς τράχηλον, ὥς ἀπορᾶν, ὡς εἰς τ' ὑψόνον.* *If it were to the* *Heroes or Demi-gods, with his throat downewards. Then* *they slew him & skin'd him, & cutting out the* ** huck* *skin-* *bones & hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called* *κνίσση* *(hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by* *e Nazianzen,* *κνίσση χαίροντες,* *rejoycing in the fat) to the end* *that they might burne all out in a great flame.* *f ὅν γ' ἀπορᾶν* *ὁλοκαυτωθῶαι τὸν μηρὸς λαμπρῶ καὶ παρλεχθέντας πνεί* *For the* *Grecians accounted it unlucky if it did not so consume, and* *thought that it was not* *καμνίεσθαι:* *upon the* *μηρὸς* *they cast* *small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, begin-* *ing with the shoulder (which is in Greeke* *ᾧ μῦς) hence this* *is called* *ᾧ μῦς τελεῖν.* *The reason* *Eustathius* *gives, & ὡς δεκεῖν καὶ* *τὸν πᾶναις, ὅλα ἔτω τὰ μέρη τῶ ἱερεὺς καρπῶς, that they might* *seeme to consume all, which the* *Athenians* *did not, being* *commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By* *reason*

reason of which injunction, they did so strain curtesy of their Gods, that the illiberall or nigardly sort of people would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. *h Τὸ ἡ Th. Charac. ἡδ' ἱερεὺς πάλω τῆς ἱερῶν τὰ κρέα ἀπιδίδωσι* *saies Theophrastus, ᾧ ἀνελδ- είας. i Pag. 336.* *Where* *i Casaubon* *notes.* *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei perſepe.* *They offered the hanch bone or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals, you are to understand the spleene, the liver, and the heart, which* *Homer* *calls* *σπλάγχνα,* *for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which* *sence we say* *ᾧ σπλάγχνα ἀνὴρ,* *a pusillanimous man, & εὐσπλάγχνα* *a couragious, as the* *a Scholiast of Sophocles* *teaches us, & ὡς σπλάγχνα ἐλέες* *the bowels of compassion* *These the anci-* *ents did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and after-* *wards cut out the rest to roſt* *For whē they had finished their* *devotions, they let the reyns loose to all manner of voluptu-* *ousnes, glurtony, and drunkenesse. For oft times they left* *nothing of their sacrifice, especially when they offered to* *Ve-* *ſta, whence the proverb, Εἰς τὰ δύνειν, is to eat up all, like the* *Roman* *Lari* *sacrificare.* *To say that publikely they begun to* *Veſta* *were more then I could well prove; but that they did* *so is plaine.* *In their houses they had Altars, & so I supposed* *once* *Αφ' εἰίας ἀρχεῖς* *to be taken, but this was done in* *Liba-* *minibus, in their drink offerings, as he on* *b Aristophanes.* *As* *b Vide p. 582* *for their meat offerings it was required that they should be* *c sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, c* *Vide Pollu-* *goat, swine, calfe: to sacrifice they simply termed* *ἑρδαν* *which* *cem. l. 1.* *our Latines have interpreted fitly, Facere.* *d Virgil, cum faciam* *d In Bucolicis* *vitula.* *Whole poverty was so great that he could not afford* *a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well* *pleased if he offered* *Molas,* *which the Greekes call* *c θυλή-* *e Casaub. in* *ματα* *meale, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and* *Theop. p.* *wine, as the* *f Scholiast of Aristoph.* *The more wealthy in-* *stead of this, did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sa-* *f Pag. 701. D.* *crifices of* *Pallas* *the tithes were set a part, as* *g Demosthenes.* *In* *g Pag. 378.* *their*

Schol. Arist.
p. 204.

their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks gave the 10 part to the Prytanes. So ἀδεχάτω κοιλία, put for εἰσία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. Aristop. οἱ ἀδεχάτωτες ἢ δεῶν ἱερῶς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Εἰς δὲ ἔιχον τὰς δεκάτας ἢ δυομένον τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δίδοναι. δεῶν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀδεχάτωτον ἔχοντα εἰσίαν, &c.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek yeare consisted of three hundred and sixty daies, each moneth consisting of thirty. Rude antiquity ignorant of celestiaall contemplations, deeming the Moone to finish her course in that space. Which according to a Petavius seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found leaven daies deficient, they supplied them by adding * two to every end of the yeare, called ἀναρχοὶ ἡμέραι, b *ed quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant.* Because for those two daies Athens was without Magistrates. But the last of these foure had but 359 daies, besides the two ὑπεράλλασσαι, in respect to the Olympick games, ever kept in the Olympick games, ever kept in the * full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Neverthelesse the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth yeare an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still returne the same. This all Greece observed, saies Petavius, by the Athenians termed *μυσήειν*, by the people of *Etis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary yeare was in use among the Grandfires of Greece, is not

a De Doct.
Tēp. l. 1. c. 1.

*Negat Peti-
tus Miscel. l. 8
p. 192. Petav.
affirmat.

b M. Selden.
in Appar. ad
Græco Epoc.
Chro.

* id est, The
fifteenth day.
c De D. Tem.
T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by d Petitus delivered to be of D. 347. even d Eclog. Chr. ry Month 29 D: except one, which like our February had but p. 225. Petav. 28 D. Every two years one month was inserted, once of goes not so home. Lib. de doct. Temp. 29 D. another time of 28 D: But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moone 15 D. itaq; *Tetraeteride* i. c. 6. fecerunt. This consisted of 1445 D: 723. & 722. make 1445. So * each of these many daies 354. foure times doubled hath, if you please to two years severally taken adjoyne 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand was called ver f *Geminus* Τὴς μὲν τετρακονθήμερος ἦτον, τὰς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ tens, joyned ἐνιαυτὸν. That must be first understood, quoth he, for they did annus mag- number the Months as if they were 30 D. when notwithstanding they had but 29. e Petavius is otherwise conceited, who e Loco laud. takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sence, as meaning f Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36. 29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to g In Auditorio h *Geminus* you may account 29. $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and i *Ulpian*, εἰκοσεννέα h Loco citato κ' ἡμῶν 29 $\frac{1}{4}$. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a i Lx Arg. O- rat. contra. Month was supposed 29 D: k *Theon*. Μὲν δὲ λέγουσιν, τὸν ἀπὸ And p. 380. σωδὸς Σηλώνος κ' Ἡλίου χρόνον ἐπὶ σωδόν, ὅς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ. k In Aristi Di- But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, olem. p. 74. ἐπὶ δὲ ἢ τοῖσιν (σωδὸν ἡμέραν ἀκέραι, ἢ ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς κ' ἡμέρας χρόνον. τέτρω δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἐχθόντων πρὸς τὴν ἢ πολυπικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγῇ κ' νῦν ἐπὶ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ ἢ ἑλλώων. He meanes a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months a *Geminus* p. did they administer their civil affaires. And now it is in re- 38. Wh. in I quest among many of the Greekes. But of this enough. Soone follow. Not ig- was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Ka- no-ant that Meton was lander of eight years, in which doubling eight times the dif- the first that ference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D: $\frac{1}{4}$. made up three Months, made the Ci- inserted every third, fift, and eight year. But the scruples cle of 19. comming short in sixteen years 3 D: they intercalated years. Hence three. And seeing still they could not make it even. a *Eucte- Μέτωνος ἐνι- mon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteene years, awtis. Me- tans yeare is which by *Callippus* was produced to 76 Months 940. of put for a long them 28. ἐμβολίμοι, τῇ δὲ τίξει ἢ ἐμβολίμων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο, time p. over bi- saies *Geminus*. This was the progresse of their reformation. ally.

But we must look back againe & consider that they counted their year two waies. First of $\beta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\chi$, as hath been already spoken, next $\sigma\sigma\sigma\iota\iota\iota$, when they made the Months interchangeably $\pi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ & $\kappa\acute{o}\iota\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$, full and deficient, that is, one 29. the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The first, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a Synalepha or contraction of the words $\nu\epsilon\mu\omega\iota\alpha$. The second $\delta\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$. The eight $\delta\iota\chi\omega\mu\omega\iota\alpha$, or halfe full: the full $\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$. The last $\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\alpha\pi'\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\omega\nu$, because that in the daies of Thales Milesius, who was the author of that terme, the Moneth had 30, & no more, but ended, whence I suppose $\epsilon\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, signify the dead, the period of whose life hath been come to. Though Diogenian gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sunne; *sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheless that the yeare might be correspondent to the Sunne, they put five daies, called $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\mu\epsilon\omega$ epacted, to the last Month Scriphorion, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365 D. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added, sometimes 366, by reason of that $\frac{1}{4}$ which Geminus acknowledges the Greekes to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which Aratus stiles $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the years by seed time, Sophocles-- $\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omega\nu\alpha\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\tau$. For the ancients, saies Theon took the year three waies, either by the Sunne; or seasons; as spring, summer, autumn, winter, (Sophocles. $\epsilon\zeta\eta\pi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\mu\omega\iota\alpha\varsigma\chi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\omega\nu\iota\delta'\eta\delta\mu$) or thirdly by the Moone: whose irregularity Solon is reported by Plutarch first to have marked. Observing therefore that shee on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, $\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ & $\chi\eta\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\kappa\sigma\alpha\nu\chi\eta\pi\upsilon\epsilon\iota\rho\chi\omega\mu\omega\iota\omega\tau\eta\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, he caused that to be called $\epsilon\zeta\eta\nu\chi\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ the old and new, because that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

the precedent Month; & that remnant, which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces Aratus calls $\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu\mu\omega\omega\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha\tau\iota$) in which matter hee is thought to have had Homer in sight, who in his *Odyssees* termes the thirtieth day, as Didymus expounds it, $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\eta\theta\mu\omega\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, δ' $\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$. Where we may note that then they had no $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\theta$, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinall numbers, used by Demosthenes in one Oration, $\epsilon\nu\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ and $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\nu\gamma\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\iota\omega\nu$. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said $\tau\epsilon\lambda\tau\eta\delta\eta\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha$, $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\delta\eta\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha$, the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne, and so to twenty, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the want of the Moone to be great, & the light almost lost, they changed the order and used $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\eta\theta$, $\epsilon\nu\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$, &c. the tenth of the increase, the ninth of the decrease, and so to the twenty nine, $\delta\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\eta\theta$, the second of the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the thirtieth they called $\epsilon\nu\eta\chi\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason by the Month ending was $\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\eta\theta\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma\delta\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$. Because the daies and Moones doe as it were dye, according to that of Horace. *Novæq; pergunt interire Lunæ.* Macrobius, *quid aliud nisi illum $\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\tau\alpha$ dicit: cuius paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen definit secuturi: $\epsilon\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ illum, qui præcedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meatu.* $\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\theta$ standing to supply the place of the departing Month; fixed and still waiting untill the Moone shall have journeyed to the compleating & ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand, *Virgil*, *Stat sua cuiq; dies*, as unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moone. Hence read we $\mu\omega\omega\alpha\varsigma\chi\eta\tau\eta\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, to count the Month as they do, who manage politicke bulineses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of $\sigma\sigma\sigma\iota\iota\iota$ daies, which divided into tenne parts make ten times

In Diosem. p. 125.

1. Odysse. 5. pag. 164.

Contra Timocratem. p. 446. n. 39.

* Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laud.

Ulpian in Dem. p. 210. in Macrobius Sat. l. 1. c. 16.

Aeneid. 10. p. 330.

^a Argum. Or. times 35, which space each ^a *πορυτανεία* ruled in its turne, the
 Dem. contra four that abounded were called *ἀρχαιρεσίαι*, in which they
 Androt. pag. chose Magistrates, being for that time destitute of them. The
 380. yeare thus d'posed, the Months must of necessity be *πλήρες* &
^b Elemen. A- κοῖλοι *cavi* & *pleni*, as ^b *Geminus*. 'Οι δ' αὖτε πῶς πολιτικῶς ἀγ-
 stiono. P. 31. γῶν ὁλοχρέστερον λαμβανόμενοι μῆναι ἔσονται εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν καὶ
 6, ὅσες δ' ἡμῶν γένεσθαι ἡμερῶν νῦν, ὅθεν διὰ τούτων πῶς αἰτίαν ὁ
 καὶ πόλιν μὲν εἰς ἑκατάχ. ἄρον, & πλήρες καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ πῶς Σε-
 κῶν δὲ μῶν ἡμερῶν εἶναι νῦν. If a month have 29 D: $\frac{1}{2}$, two
 have 59. Because therefore the two halves might be made
 one whole, they so ordered it that now it should be 29 D.
^c Macrob. l. 1. then 30 D. The Athenians counted their day from the setting
 Sat. c. 3. Plin. of the sun on this day, untill the going downe of the next. In
 nat. hist. l. 2. respect to which ^d *Nicander* may be thought to say of noone
 c. 77. sleep, -- ἀκρέατος & εὐδαιν. To take rest at the beginning of the
 even. I know that the ancients wrought but six houres in the
^d In. Theriac. day. ^e *Martial*, *sexta quies lassis septima finis erit*. Which
^e Lib. 4. Ep. 8. ^f *Eustath* affirms in his Commentary on Homer. And there-
^f In 11: ad fore Z. H. Θ. I. were the notes of the 7. 8. 9. 10. houres, which
 ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυ- joined make *ζῆτι*, as if they should have said to the Labou-
 καὶ παθεῖν. rers, Rest. The beginning of the yeare was *Hecatombeon*, *Iuly*,
^g Casaub. in the eight, saies ^h *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the
 Athen. p. 921 first Month. In which order I have found them set downe
^h Chronol. in a ⁱ Manuscript in our publique Library, only *Μεμαστέριον*
ⁱ In 40 num. is to be put above *Pyanepсион*.
 24. p. 264.

Roman.	Macedon.	Hebrew.	Ægypt.	Hellen.	Athenian.
Ιανναί.	Αἰγέκως.	Σάβαρ.	Τυβί.	Λυῖναί.	Ἑκαμβαιον.
Φαρυαί.	Ἰδευχό.	Ἀβαρ.	Μαχαίρ.	Περίγει.	Μεταγεινίων.
Μάρεπ.	Ιχθυές.	Μεσάν.	Φαρυάθ.	Δύσρ.	Βονδρομίων.
Απείλλι.	Κεῖος.	Ιάβ.	Φαρμασί.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψίων.
Μάϊ.	Ταῦρ.	Ψεδονάν.	Παών.	Αρτεμισί.	Μαιμακθειών.
Ιένι.	Δίδυμ.	Θαμνί.	Παυλί.	Δαίσι.	Ποσιδεών.
Ιέλι.	Καρκίν.	Αβ'.	Επφί.	Πάνικ.	Γαμηλιών.
Αυγας.	Λέων.	Βύλ.	Μεσεί.	Λαῖ.	Ανδισθειών.

Σετ-

Σεπτεμβρι.	Παρθεν.	Θεοί.	Θυσεία.	Γορπαῖ.	Ελαφβολιών.
Οκτώβρι.	Ζυγί.	Μικράν.	Φαωρί.	Υπερβερεῖαος.	Μενυχίων.
Νοέμβρι.	Σκορπί.	Χαλιβ'.	Αδυεί.	Δί.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβρι.	Τοξότης.	Τιβηθ'.	Χοιδκ.	Απολλαί.	Σκυρροφειών.

In which table although *Hecatombeon* be compared to the
Julian Month *Iannary*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombeon*
 was ever so removed out of his place, as ^a *Petitus* will have ^a *Eclog. Chr.*
 it, *Epiphanius* contradicting of which by & by. Indeed when p. 214.
 the Christians in honour of their Easter, began the yeare in
 April, they called April *Hecatombeon*, as ^b he himselfe testi- ^b *Loco laud.*
 fies. But that *Hecatombeon* was alwaies the first Month, is
 not probable. For when the Athenians under the dominion
 of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the
 year from *Iuly* to the seaventh of *October* it is like that they
 began at *Μεμαστέριον* according to this ^c rule.

^c Ex MS. Bib.
 loth. Bod-
 leianæ in 80
 n. 8.

Μαιμακθειών.
 Ποσιδεών.
 Γαμηλιών.
 Ανδισθειών.
 Ελαφβολιών.
 Μενυχίων.
 Θαργηλιών.
 Σκυρροφειών.
 Ἑκαμβαιών.
 Μεταγεινίων.
 Βονδρομίων.
 Πυανεψίων.

^d Certain it is that the same *Attick* Months are sometimes ^d *Vide Petav.*
Lunary, and sometimes not, but of 30 D: or *Julian*; When in *Epiphan.*
 they are *Lunary* they have no sure seat, but are now at this P. 138.
 time, then at another. And this hath bin the reason why the
 same Months have not been suited to the *Julian*, by writers.

I

Ulpian

66 Archæologiæ Atticæ Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

Ulpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to *e* January, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and againe to *f* April, & *March* he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets *h* June. *Elaphebolon* *i* November, & *September* (in the margin February) and *1* December. *m* *Thragelion*, April. *Munychion* January. *Scirophorion*, March. Which errors are cursorily noted by *n* *Peit* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar* they were charged to conform their yeare to the *Julian*, they *o* thus numbred.

Menses Attici.	Menses Iuliani.
Ελαφηβολιών	March.
Μυνυχιών	April.
Θαρσηλιών.	May.
Σκιρροφειών.	June.
Ἑκατεμβαιών.	July.
Μετασειριών.	August.
Βοηδρομιών.	September.
Μαιμακτηριών.	October.
Πυανεσιών.	November.
Ποσειδεών.	December.
Γαμηλιών.	January.
Ανθεστηριών.	February.

But of this, so much only. We must handle their *Lunary* year because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as *a* ποσόν & ὅσον ἐν Διονυσίων. So much and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speaking of the age of a girl. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

Hecatombæon. July.

- 1 Πρώτη ἱερὰ. Πρυτανεία πρώτη.
- 2 Τετήρη.
- 3 Τετάρτη.
- 4 Πέμπτη.

5 Ἑκτη.

6 Ἑβδόμη. *Κάδοι Θ. Θησέως εἰς Ἀθῶνας. Kept in memory of the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had

7 *Ογδὴ. slaine the *Minotaur*. *b* *Plutarch*. The solemnity *b* In vita p. 12

8 Ἐννὰ. ty *c* *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis* *c* Metamorp. 1.7. Fab. 23.

9 Δεκάτη. fertur celebratio illo Illuxisse dies &c. the eight day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festivall called *Theseia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*. *Nam erit operæ pretiū, d* Pag. 446. contra *Timocratem*. *e* In *Annalib.* vide *Macrobi.* Satur. l. i. c. 7. versus finem. * Then were kept the

10 πρώτη μεσσηνία.

11 Δωδέκα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

12 Τρίτη Κρόνια. Of these as also of the day, speakes *d* *Demosthenes*. Then did the Masters wait on

13 Τετάρτη. their servants, as in the *Roman Saturnals*. * *Then were*

14 Πέμπτη. *e* *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Graium Saturno, &* kept the

15 Ἑκτη. *maxime Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia* *Μετοίκια* in

16 Ἑβδόμη. *esse iterantur ab illis, cumq; diem celebrant, per a-* *memoriall of*

17 Ογδὴ. *gros, urbescq; fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, fa-* *their transini-*

18 Ἐννὰ. *mulosq; procurant Quisq; suos.* *gration. Plut.*

19 Εἰκάς. *p. 8. l. 9. By*

20 Δεκάτη φθινόγον. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β. Hence was this

21 Ἐννὰ. this Month called by the ancient *Atheni-* *med* *Ξωδοκία*

22 Ογδὴ. *ans, Κρόνι*; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from *700. Plut. in-*

23 Ἑβδόμη. *ἐκατεμβαῖα*, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*, as *itio Them. l.*

24 Ἑκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred *12.*

25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa-

26 Τετάρτη. crifices. *f* *Ovid*. *Taurorum sanguine centum.* *f* *Metamorp.*

27 *Τρίτη Παναθηναῖα. *g* The Scholiast of *Homer* *g* In *Il. α.*

28 Δωδέκα. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five & *pag. 5.*

29 Ἐννὰ & νέα. twenty beasts, whose feet make up the

number of an hundred, *ἅπτε ὅς ἐκατονβάσιων, ὅ ἐστιν εἰκοσι-*

πέντε ζώων.

* To *Minerva* the Protectresse of their City, as hath been *h* In vita p. 8.

before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as *h* *Plutarch*. *κ. παναθηναῖα* *l. 8.*

ἑορτήν ἐποίησε κοινῶν. At first they had the name Ἀθῶναια, by *Eriethonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πυρρική, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the *Gyants*. All which you may read in *Menfius* at large, and *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

In Panathenæis.

h Pag. 140.

197.180.181

467.580.650

746.

The second of this Month is called τεῖτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in cavi.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μετασίτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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3 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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5 Πρυτανεία δαίτεια.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ε.

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* Boedromion September.

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Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare *Plataeæ*, a City of *Beotia*, *Herodotus*, *Justin*.

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Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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* Κακιστήρια Ελευθερίας.

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his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

14

* Ἀγυρμός Μυσήρια.

15

* In thankfulnesse for the delivery of Greece; at what time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. *Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

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* The greater in which they were made *εἰσόδον*, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called *ἀγυρμός*, perhaps from the conflux of the people

* From this month came the feasts Boedromia, frō Theseus overthrowing the Amazons.

Plut. p. 9. or

Ion helping

the Athenians

against Eu-

molpus. Bon-

when *Cynegirus* pursued the

flying enemies to their ships, because in ne-

he caught hold of one with his

right hand, which lost, he made

use of his left; that cut off, he in-

token of his prowesse spared not

Lucian.

ἑπὶ καλέειν.

Latini *Quiriti-*

tare. hence

help came in.

a Calliop. p.

234. b. lib. 3.

b Tom. 1 p.

257. see Plut.

in Aristid. p.

241.

c Sch. Arist.

pag. 247.

Here I look on
Meursius for
brevities sake
but if you
please to read
severally, see
Aristop. Sch.
p. 85. 98. 131
138. 455.
529. 647. 142
218. 227. 228
231. 233. 217
262. 264. 516
Aristid. T. I.
p. 323. Clem:
Alex. in Pro-
trep. p. 10.

22 * Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The second ἄλαδε μυσται, because the Crier then warned them to goe to sea. The third day they Sacrificed a Barble, because it devours a sea hare, an enemy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket representing Prosperpine gathering flowers, which women following cryed χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile Ceres. The fift they ranne with torches: Hence λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The sixt Bacchus was carried in pomp: Hence is it termed ἰάκχθ. The seaventh day they exercised in feats of activity & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was Epidauria from Æsculapius his coming from Epidaurus to Athens to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corne, and setting one at East and the other at West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὤ, the other to the ground, saying, πεῦ: Thus Meursius: That day was πλημωχόν.

a Sympos. Q. The second of this Month was left out ever, saies a Plutarch, instead of which some are perswaded, the name only was omitted, as τετάρτη for Τέτη, which was recompenced by εἰας. p. 331 ἐνδεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, or ἰαμβίης, as in a defective Month δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, for the twenty: Of this judgement is the b worthy Temp. 1. c. 5. Petavius. p. 11. D.

* Μεμαστέριον. is to be inserted here.

* Pyanephsion. October. This Month took denomination from the feasts Pyanephsia: For mingling the remainder of their food after their arriving, they put it into one pot, and seething it, were joviall alltogether at the same.

- 1
- 2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
- 3
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7 Πυανέψια. After that Theseus had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at Delos, towit, if he returned safe from the death of the Mikotaurē, hee would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beanes. Hence 10 πυανέψια, as it were, κυανέψια. For the antiques called beanes πυάμυς.

11 Ανοδος εἰς τὰ θεσμοφóεια.

12 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

13

14 Θεσμοφóεια. c Plautus calls the festivall vigiliæ c In Aulularia, which the Attick Dames τρια. kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with conyza for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They 16 prepared themselves with fasting, but after that took 17 their liquor freely. The number

18 Πρυτανεία. δ. of daies were three allotted, as 19 some, or foure, as others. When Castellanus saies that 20 Ovid makes them nine, is false; for that was the Myste- 21 ria, as we above have shewne: They were done in ho- 22* nonr to Ceres, that gave lawes first, as she is termed Δη- 23 μήτης θεσμοφóεως. Of these you may read d Aristophanes d Pag. 611. 750. 782. 24 and his Scholiast.

25 * Απαλξεία Kept this Month. When the Parents 783. 819. 26 brought their children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, 820. 829. 27 suppose for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they

28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. made merry for foure daies. The first was Δορπία. The se- 29 cond Ανάρρυσος. The third Κερεῶνς. The fourth, Επέθεα.

30 Καλκεία. In honour to Minerva. f Meursius teaches us that they were celebrated the 1. 1. 17 of this Month, but Petitus hath thus placed them.

Memæsterion. November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyaneſſion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who ſo hath ſet it, though much againſt the opinion of other learned: as *M. Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for moſt approved.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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Plutarch in the Life of *Aristides*, ſaies that the *Beotians*, nay and *Greekes* ſend yearly ſome to ſacrifice to the memory of thoſe that died at *Plataea*, & every five year they have great paſtimes, which he ſets downe the manner of.

The Month is derived from *Iupiter Memæſtes*: for I ſuppoſe they firſt found Gods, afterward ſettled to them. Not the Months firſt, and then named the Gods from them.

^a Pag. 241.

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29

Poſideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the firſt day of this month was ſacred to him, as ^b *Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδών & ἡμέρα. ^b In *Theoph.* Char. ult.

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26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
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29 Πρυτανεία. ε.
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Gamelion. January.
1 From the marriages first made by Cecrops, of whom be-
2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in Tzetzes
3 on Lycophron. That month wherein this people coup-
4 led, hence is called Gamelion, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-
5 cred to *Iuno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and con-
6 jugalis, Preident of weddings and the marriage bed.

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9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
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Anthesterion. February.

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2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
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5 Πρυτανεία. ζ.
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11 *Ἀνθεστήρια.* Kept in great mirth for three daies in Of this year
12 the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *Πιτυῖαια* may see Ari-
13 from *πίδος* the tubs, and *ὄιγεν*, to open, for at the broa- stoph. p. 293.
14 ching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second 417. 419.
15 *Χοαὶ* from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that 422. 222.
16 could drink downie the rest The day was
17 of his companions had a called *χρῆμα*
18 golden crowne. The third *χρῆμα*, I suppose different likewise, but
19 from *χρῆτοι*. From this Festivall the month is named. not in the
20 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lemnis* were kept, sense spoken.
21 called *μεγάλα & ἀχαιοτέρα*. The 13th were acted Comæ-
22 dies, begun the 3^d yeare of the 53 Olympiad, when a In Terent.
23 *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as a Do- p. 289.
24 nat and b *Vlpian* witnesse, and c *Aristophanes*, ὅτε πῶθ' b In Demost.
25 *σωτρεῖχρ' ὀπιδυμέν' τὰ καὶνὰ δόματα βλέπειν*, saies one. p. 184.
26 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.* c Pag. 143.
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Elaphobolion. March.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Θυσία Ασκληπιάδιν. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ή.

Contra
Ctesiphont.

16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄν.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

Of these ^c Æschines makes mention, and you shall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

Munychion.

Munychion. April.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Μενύχια. Πρυτανεία ἐν τῇ. Munychia were observed to Diana, who was so called, and had a Temple in Munychia, by Athens: The Month bears the name: In this Month were the causes of strangers judged. ^a Arist: Sc:

Διάσια.

To Jupiter Meilichius. The greatest day that the Attick route was kept in: See of this ^b Aristophanes and Eustathius.

^a Avib. p. 60.
^b Pag. 150.
^c Ismen. & Ism. l. 1.

K 3

Thargelion

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^a In Equites
pag. 353.

^b In Ranis.

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. β.

Θαρσίλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their na-
tivity. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the
people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,
and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time
of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sinnes of
the City, Two in number, saies the ^a Scholiast of *Ari-*
stophanes, whence they were called *θυμόσοι*: but more
properly *καθάρματα* & *φαρμακοί*, ^b *Aristophanes*.

Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἑκκλησία. δ.

Βενδίδειν.

To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is na-
med *Βένδις*.

Παναθηναία μικρά.

Not much different from the
greater. See *Mensius*.

Καλιωπεία. Πρυτανεία. ι.

Petitus places it on the 24 day, others
will have it the 25. To *Minerva*, on
which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and
wash it I suppose, ^c *Plutarch*, ^d *Xenophon*.

^c Pag. 152.

^d *Ζαλβω. α.*

p. 257.

Scirrophorion.

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12 Σκίεσ.

To *Minerva* from *σκίεσ*, a Canopy, under
which her Priests did walk in pomp at that
time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*.

13 ^c *Scol. Aristoph.*

14 *Βυρόνια*. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an ^c *Oxe*: wherefore when one had slaine that
^c *Pag. 497.*

15 beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, hee
16 slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
17 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave
18 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the
19 plough. To which ^d *Iuvenal* may allude. *Vi vetulus bos*
20 ^d *Satyr. 101.*

21 *Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.* *Qui domini cultus tenuis & misera*
bile collum Præbet, ab invito jam fa-
stiditus aratro. ^{v. 268.}

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Πρυτανεία. ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the foure first Tribes to governe
each his day, on those foure that abounded above the
yeare, ^{*} *Sigonius* seems to agree, and ^{*} *Mausæus* ap-
proves ^{* Athen Rep. l. 2. c. 3.}
^{* In notis ad Harpocra.}

* D. Doft. prooves it. Neither is it misliked by * Petavius * Scaliger hath
Temp. l. 2. c. falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each Prytanica to rule
I. 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first
* De emend. 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first
Tem. lib. 1. foure.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdâ, Satyricâ, & Comœdiâ.

IT is taken for grant among the Ancients, that Homer who
lived a 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught
and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being
more large & using circumlocution in matters of lesse con-
sequence, which Hermogenes acknowledges to be the pro-
perty of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following
ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfecti-
on. Nam post illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c. saies c Donat.
For after that Homer by the Iliads had represented a Tragœ-
dy, by the Odyssees a Comœdy, most ingenious imitators took
those Poems and set them in order, & divided them, which at
that time were inconsiderately, & without judgement writ-
ten, impolisht, & in the first rudiments not so neat and trim,
as in proesse of time they were made. For Poesy was a great
while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publish-
ing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of a *Sufarion*, the first
Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few,
as may but witnesse such an Author. The originall of the
word Comœdy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons:
First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to Bacchus,
they sung them, & so it may be derived from *κῶμος*, commes-
satio; *κῶμάζειν*, signifying *μετ' ἑτέρῃς ἀρχαῖς ᾄδειν*, to sing basely
at the cup. Secondly from *κῶμα*, sleep; because when any of
the Attick husbandmen had been injured, it was the custome
(as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in
the

the night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry,
such and such rejoyce in wrong, and commit such outrages,
though there be Gods & Lawes. And after that, proclaimed
the parties name, who on the morrow was sought out by the
husbandmen & much shamed; by which these wrongs were
redressed. Thirdly from *κῶμη*, a street, because when the old
Athenians would note a wicked mans life out to the world,
meeting merrily in the streets & high waies, they laid open
every mans life, and concealed not his name, *In vicos &*
compita ex omnibus locis leti, alacresq; veniebant: ibiq; cum no-
minibus singulorum vitam publicabant. These verses were
first sung in the green Meddowes, about the beginning of
the spring. When the husbandmen kept the festivals of Bac-
chus the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, be-
cause his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which
they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed
it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg
upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often
took. This sport they call *ἀσκαυλιάζειν* from *ἀπὸς* a skin, and
ἄλλεσθαι, to leap, *Aristophanes*. *Ἀσκαυλιάζ' ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τῷ αἰ-*
δείαν. * Virgil hath fitly set it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris

Ceditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:

Præmiaq; ingentes Pagos & compita circum

Theseide posuere: atq; inter pocula leti

Mollibus in pratis hæctos saliere per vires.

After *Sufarion*, sprang up *Thespis*, the first that made Tragœ-
dies, which by Horace are termed *Lachrymosa poemata*, sad
poems; because they represent humane miseries, the misfor-
tunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place
for a poor man, but only to dance, as *Arrian* hath observed.
Which thing gave an occasion to *Socrates*, when he saw the
most worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tirants to
say to *Antisthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives
never did some famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

L

that

f Donatus de
Tra. & Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopsi
vitæ Aristop.
Th. Magister.

i Plut. p. 108.
k Geor. 2. p.
71.

l Isa. Tzetzes
in Proleg. ad
Poetas inter-
prets *κῶμας*
μεστὰ χαρῆς

m In Epictes
p. 95.

n Ælian Var.
l. 2. c. 11.

that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slaine; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Not supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K: Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragædy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragædy might happen to him; meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is *Τεργαστα* used, as *Κωμωδία* for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragædy that *Thespis* taught was that of *Alcestis* repriving her husband from death by her owne, as *Mr Selden* hath conjectured: Tis *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragædies, as *ἄνωρελῆ ἰδωλολογία*, a fruitlesse lying: *Horace* of him thus speaks:

*Ignorium Tragicae genus invenisse camænae
Dicitur, & plaustri vexisse poemata Thespis.
Quæ canerent agerentq; peruneti sacibus ora.*

Upon which words some have written that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon waines: But alas a poore conceit! *Franciscus Lusinius Uticensis* is of opinion that *Thespis* carried his Scene upon carres: and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in waines acted Tragædies: *Chori plaustri circumducti Tragædias agebant*: I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables; And to mee it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word *ὑποκειτῆς*, intimating a Poet. Oī *ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκειτῆς*, &c. The ancients, saies *Vlpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas actors*, which we now terme Tragædi, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c: The place in which they sung their Poems, was a Scene upon a waine drawn in procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the Greekes the custome was, saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*: Of the manner in those ancient times, ** Plutarch* shall thus informe you: *Ἀμφοδὲς οἶνε καὶ κλήματι*, &c: A pot of wine & a vine twigge, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*: In which solemnity the Poets in waines following the pomp, might without controule laugh, scorne, and deride any they met, saies ** Dionysius Halicarnas-*

*o Athen. l. 3.
p. 90.
p. Ad Marm.
Arund.*

*q Laert. in
Solonc. p. 40.*

*r In Horatii
Poeticen.*

*(Schol. Arist.
p. 142.*

*t In Demost.
p. 40.*

*u Stel. β. p.
107.*

** αὐτὸ φιλό-
πλ. p. 1343.*

*x Antiq. Rom:
l. 7.*

scelus; or were wont, as the *y Schol: of Nazianz*: to rayle upon, Loco laud. each other, whence *πομπάειν*, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good sence sometimes *z* to celebrate *z* *Hermog.* the pomp, or go in procession in honour to the festivall) and *Meth. de Elo-* *a πομπεία*, a scandall or reproach, *ὑβρις, λοιδορία*. Whence like- *quentia, c. 2.* wise came the Greek proverb, *b ὡς ἔξ ἀμάξης λαβεῖν, tanquam* *p. 519.* *ex plaustro loqui*, and *c ὡς ἔξ ἀμάξης ὑβρίζειν, tanquam ex plu-* *a Dem. pro* *Coron. p. 134* *stro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuse: *b Schol. Arist:* Which that they might doe the better without shame, or *p. 142.* blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *αμύρκα*, *c Vlpian. in* *olei fece*, with the dregs of oyle, saies *Donat*, or of wine (for *loc. cit. Dem.* so I interpret *πύρα*) from which Poets by *d Aristophanes* are *d Nubibus p:* called *πυρροδαίμονες*. *Horace* — *Peruneti sacibus ora*. Sometimes *141.* would they put on vizards, *c* which least they should hurt the *e Vlpian: in* head, were defended from the skinne with a wolven cap, na- *Dem: p. 254.* med *πλίδιον*: A word elegantly used by *f Demosthenes*, in a *f De falsa* Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the per- *Legatione.* sons that wrote it: *Οὐκ οἶσι δίκῃ δώτην τηλικύτων καὶ ποσάτων ἀδι- κημάτων καὶ πλίδιον λαβὼν ὅπῃ πῶ κεραλλῶ*. Think not to escape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any slanderer, of whō we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to forget the Poet, while I speake of the stage, I will therefore returne to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented Tragædies; so called, as *Donat* tels, because (least there should be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be stired up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voyces *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Cap- per namq; pro dono his dabatur. τέρψ* *Θ* is a Goat, and *ὦδὴ* a song. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum*. Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragædies, but the most received opinion is this which *Ho- race* hath set downe of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art of poesy Tragical, but at their festivalls, when they ascribed all their mirth & delight to their Gods, they did it especial-

*Orat. πα-
ρα-
πρ. P.
242.
Charact. vi.
Cafaub.*

ly to Bacchus (and so afterward, when Actors are called *Διο-
κῆς* in *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe
and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their
solemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and
from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up.
They would likewise cast forth *ἀποχρηδισματα*, as they terme
them, in *Virgil's* language, *versus incomplos*, *k Numeros innu-
meros eo tempore fundi solios & sine arte*. For they had of old
but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the
praise of Gods & Noble men, and from this in a short time,
with small care grew a Tragedy; the other sort was *Iam-
bicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, &
from hence came a Comedy. At first small was the diffe-
rence between a Tragedy and Comedy, *1 constat sane, pri-
mis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragædiam &
Comædiam*, and the reason is, because even Tragedies had
their wantonnesse and petulancy. At first they sung in ho-
nour to Bacchus *Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting
him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people
saw they cried downe, with *οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*, whence
our proverbial adverb is fitly used *ἀποσδιονύσας*, for nothing
to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the Satyrs
did *præcludere*. But after that, when a Tragedy took state
they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious
persons; by which mournfull Poems the people were wont
to be cast down, sympathizing with the persons represented,
therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were
brought in by *Thespis* as *m Horace*.

*m De arte
Poet.*

*Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, fundusq; sacris, & potus & exlex.
In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a Chorus place, or else the
persons*

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of
the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for
sports sake; and many of their Tragedies had some mixture
of Satyrick sport, saies *n Casaubon*. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus n P. 129. de
Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas Fabulas*. Of this I say *Sat. Poet.*
Thespis was the first inventer, who likewise to ease the *Cho-
rus* (° for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, *o Laert. p. 220*
to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the
number was three, *Æschylus's* is *δδτεργωνιστής* *Sophocles* his
τετραγωνιστής, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in
P Demosthenes, *Vlpian*, *ὡς ἀδοχιμώτατος* *ἢ ὁ ὑποκριτής*, speaking *p 184.*
of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secunda-
rum & tertiarum partium*. *9 Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, q In divinac.
sepe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit al-
quanto clarius dicere, quam ipse primarum, multum summitti-
re, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat*. But let mee speake
what I have to say of a Tragedy. *a None* was permitted
once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragedies, *a Plutarch in
vita X Rhet.
p. 452. B.*
but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors
might (as I conceive) repeat them. *Τὴν δὲ πόλεως γραμματεῖα
ἀναγινώσκεν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ἕκ ἐξῆναι γὰρ αὐτὰς ὑποκρί-
νεται*. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator
were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under cu-
stody *ἐν κοινῷ*. Yet the *b Author* of the life of *Æschylus* *b Iuxta finē.*
writes that the People made a decree, that he should receive
such a summe of gold, that would *διδάσκων*, the places of
Æschylus after his death. I put the word *διδάσκων*, *docere*. Be-
cause Tragedians as well as the Comedians were said *εἰς
διδάχλῳ ὧν προσήκειν ἐργάζεσθαι*, to labour in teaching the
people. And for this end did the Ancients lay out so much
mony upon their Theaters. *c Sed immane quos quantosq; sumptus,
in Theatra, in Comædiarum ac Tragædiarum representationem fece-
rit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisq; emendari, ac pru-
dentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissimæ, & formas Reipub-
licæ, ac vitam Magistratum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*
L. 3 *in*

*c Heinſius
Poleg. ad A-
ristarchum
Sacrum.*

in Comædia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subin-
de publico suppeditari crederent consilia. Not unfitly therefore
did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the
Theater. I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.
Hence of a Tragædy or Comædy the Greeke writers say,
d δίδασκε, docetur fabula, and δίδασκεν, docere, as sometime
d δεικνύειν, as you may see in *Athenæus*. The following Poets
did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times
their predecessors; so saies *Quintilian*, the people permitted
the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many
places his verses were not set in order. He brought great
grace to the stage, & first taught σκωμογραφίαν, the painting of
the Scenes; which some think *Horace* to ayme at, when he
saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita cignis*: Which because it was
perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively
by some) to have been invented by him: *Sophocles* indeed
did πολλά γένεσθαι, bring in many new things: such as leaving
out the actiō of the Poet (for before the Poet himselfe acted)
by reason of the badnesse of his own voyce; he found out
white shoos, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made
the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted
likewise his Tragædies to the natures of the Actors, &c: but
that he invented σκωμογραφίαν I cannot find: Somewhat like-
wise was added by *Euripides*: as to set out the Argument of
the Fable in the beginning of the Tragædy, as you may ob-
serve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last
and principall point of that one action which he would re-
present, which by the glory of our Nation, *h* *Sr Philip Sidney*,
is not past by, as frivolous, without noting: These three were
the Princes of Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People e-
very year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving
who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges,
who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges,
chosen for that purpose, called *i* Διονυσιακοὶ Κριταὶ, & *k* Κρι-
ταὶ ἐκ Διονυσίων; Tenne in number, think some, at first, gathe-
ring out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Be-
cause

d *Athenæus*
Dip. l. 6. pag.
268. vide Ca-
saub.
e Pag. 270.
f Lib. 10.

g T. Magister:

h In the de-
fence of
Poesy.

i *Heinsius* in
Proleg. ad A-
ristarchum
sacrum.

k *Æschines*
cont: *Ctesip*:

cause when he had brought the Reliques of *Thesens* out of
Scyrus, *Aphepsion* the Archon, in gratulation to him, chose not
the Judges as soone as the Theater was filled, and spectators
placed; but presently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with
nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after
accustomed Sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the
victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æschylus* grie-
ving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neere
Gelas. But out of this place we cannot prove that the num-
ber of these Critick Judges was alwaies Tenne. This we ac-
knowledge done in testimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* 39.
service. And yet in judgment upon Tragædiars, the number
might be so great. For there seemes to be a difference be-
tween the Judges of Tragædies and Comædies. The num-
ber of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be such as we
speak; the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no
appeal to others. *m* Cum neq; provocatio ab iis esset, neq; de quibus *m* *Heinsius*
illi judicarent, magistratus ceteri sententiam pronunciarent. The loco laudato.
Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came
the Greek proverb, *n* Πέντε κριτῶν ἐν γένεσι λείψ. *n* *quinq;* *n* *Zenobius*.
Judicibus lis est. The *o* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speakes some-
what uncertaine. Judges, quoth he, passe censures upon the
Comædians, & they who had five voyces were happy. Those
were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would
have made nothing to the Poets' felicity to have had equall
voices: For the odde gave a great stroak. Hence wishes the
Chorus in the behalfe of the Poet -- ἐνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, to
be Victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that,
whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages be-
yond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For whē
Aristophanes taught his Νεφέλαι, they so much took the peo-
ple, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror,
κ χειροπατήσαν τοὺς κριτὰς ἀνῶθεν Αἰσχρολόγῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γρά-
φειν, saies *p* *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ari-*
stophanes uppermost (as the fashion was, which *q* *Aristopha-*
nes *q* *Avib*: p. 762

nes calls *αἰσχρολογία* ἐν πινυκίοις, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiusve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and Spectators. *† Aristophan.*

† Loco laud. Ομνυμι' ἐπὶ τέτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι --- Where the Scholiast interprets
ὁμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, *ἐυχόμεναι*, to supplicate.
And good reason. For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use *† Aristophanes* points, saying -- ἐκ ἐβόλλετο; nay sometime would they hiss them, which they terme *κλώζειν* and *συνείττειν*, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call *πέρνο- κοπεῖν*, by *† Pollux* interpreted *ἐδωλῖα ἢ πέρνοις κατακρῖναι*. Another difference is that *† the Comick Judges* were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no odds between the Critick Judges of Tragedies and Comœdies But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, and they who in their opinion lost the day, were said ** ἐκπύττειν*, by *† Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragedies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia* in *agris*, or *Leneæ*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Lymnis*, in the month *Antheſterion*, on *Dionysia* in *urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I finde added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in *† Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertaine their people with

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures, sicut Casaubon*: Sometime in the same yeare three, and then was it called *τριλογία*: sometime foure, & then they stiled it *τετραλογία*, *† Τα ἡ πέτλας Δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ*. Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orestia*, to wit, *Ἀγαμέμνων*, *Χοηφόρος*, *Εὐμειδης*. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proetus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides*, *Medea Philoctetes*, *Diſys*. The fourth was *Θεισσι*, saies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Θεισσι*, *Σάτυρος*; *Messores*, *Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sense is sufficiently delucidated by *† Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus*, is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty foure, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but *σείχες* foure, each *σείχης* six men) in Tragedies fifty, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the People, *† that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies Pollux, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by the Act brought to fifteene, five juga: I say juga, because they were divided into σείχες, and ζυγά* *Ζυγὸν* was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called *κτὶ ζυγὰ πέντε*, by file *Σείχης*, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time; & this they terme *κτὶ σείχες*. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say *καθ' ἑνα*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three; but if a fourth spake, that they named *ᾤδαρχήσιμα*; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled *ᾤδακλώιον*. To speak of the severall verses of Tragedies, is *ἀκτὺν ἀγερει*; and

† De Satyrica
Poesi p. 131.

† Laertius
loco citato.

† Lib. laudat.

† Author vi-
tae Æschyli.

and I had rather speak of the action, then the art in composing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *στροφὴ* & *ἐντιστροφὴ*. *Στροφὴ*, saies the Scholiast of Pindar, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogy to the motion of the universe *ἢ πυντός*, from the East to the West; because Homer calls the East the right hand, the West the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which signifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. *Ἀντιστροφὴ* was a turning from the West to the East; that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their Epodes, for (if it be so in Tragædies, as in Lyrick Musick, which I believe) to expresse the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used Epodes for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the Players avoided the stage. Thus much of Tragædies; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; in so much as after the dismall discomfite of the

d Plut. in fine vitæ Nicæ. *d* Athenians in Sicily, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of Euripides. Nay, by a Law made by *e* Lycurgus, & established in Athens, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and Euripides had statues erected in brasse for the continuation of their memory. After Tragædies had proceeded to perfection, Comædies were with great applause taught, as *f* Horace, *Successit vetus his Comædia, non sine multa Laude* ---

He saies, *vetus Comædia*, because a Comædy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old and New. I said three sorts, because *** the old was different from it selfe. The meaning is, that the old Comædy, of which *Sannyrion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the Chorus now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verse, saies Donat. Which by Cratinus was redressed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his sport, profit, I mean for instruction. For under the Democracy it was lawfull to exagitate and propose for

for a laughing stock Captains & corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life, naming the men upon the stage, and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the shape of those whom they intended to deride. But as the state grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being cast into the sea by those, against whom he wrote his Comædy *Bapta*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *a* *ὀνομαστὶ κομῶδειν*, to name any whom they wrote the Comædy of. Of which Horace,

a Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

--- Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, Chorusq;
Turpiter obtruncit sublato jure nocendi.

But when Alexander of Maedon grew potent and a terror to Greece, the Poets fearing least any of the abusive wit might displease the great Macedonian, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & instead of abusing states & people, they fell upō ancient Poets, or some part of History not truly written, personating the Actors so as to be most ridiculous: sometimes scoffing on the stage at meane men, & this they termed *Νέα Κομῳδία*, the new Comædy. But afterward it was a piece of the Athenian policy to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unlesse they would themselves, saies *c* Xenophon; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *πλούσιοι*, *ῥητοῦχοι*, *δυνατοὶ*.

b Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocrib. fortunis agunt, &c. *c* Athen. Rep.

Some are of opinion that no Player came on the stage untill thirty or forty; I dispute not the matter; sure I am that *Sophocles* taught his first Tragædy at twenty eight, in which doubtlesse himselfe came on the stage. It being among the Athenians no disgrace, as the Romans accounted it, to appeare there. *d* *Æmilius Probus*. In scenam verò prodire, & populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus (Græcis) fuisse turpitudinis: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honestate remota ponuntur. The place where the people beheld these plaies and pastimes was in the market place, *e* Meurs. Att. where they nailed scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in Lect. 1. 4 c. ult

fThesmoph.
 P.787.

--- Απο τῶν ἱκείων
 ὑποβλέποντες ἡμᾶς ---

g Casaub. in
 Theoph. p.
 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont. Leo-
 cha. p. 617. n.
 50. 51.

k Olymth. I.
 P. 7.

l Lacon. apud
 Plut. Mor. p.
 421.

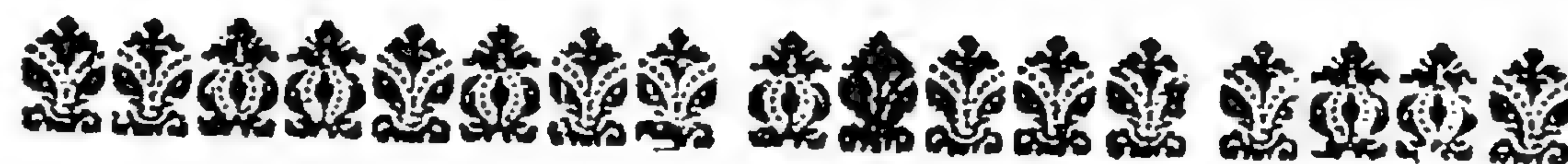
m Lib: 6. fine.

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of
 mony admitted any to a seat, named therefore *ε Θεατρῶναι*.
 Once it seems places were not hired. But there grew great
 enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose
 wrangling and brawies, and fights; wherefore the *Attick* Se-
 nate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli*:
 (in the Consulship of *Diophantus*, a *Drachme*, say some,
 whence rose the Proverb, *h Δραχμὴν χαλῶσα*; because at the
 establishing of it, there fell hail) This mony they called *θεω-*
εἰκόν; from *θεωρεῖν*: because with it they did *θεῶν ἀντιόρῳ*, buy
 a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poor
 people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle,
Pericles desiring to be popular, made a law that they should
 receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man. i For
 the right of exacting which mony, they were to produce the
 authority of the *Lexiarchicall* Rolles, as appears out of *De-*
mosthenes. For the distribution of this were certaine officers
 appointed, named *δὲ ἐπὶ θεωρικῶν*. But afterwards *Apollodorus*
 strove that in warre and publike necessity, these summes
 might be employed in military affaires, but he endeavoured
 in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capi-
 tall for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did;
 Which makes *k Demosthenes* desist, willing, yet not daring to
 perswade to convert the mony to the use of the Armie. But
 see the folly of them! i For they spent as much on these
 sports as in obtaining the Mastery and liberty of Greece. And
 the end was miserable for they became effeminate, and so
 put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoke. m *Justin* of the
 death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem emulari consue-*
verant, in segnitiei torporemque resoluti, non ut olim in classem
exercitusque, sed in dies festos apparatusque ludorum, reditus
publicos

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetisq; theatra ce-
lebrant, frequentius scenam, quam castra visentes. Versificatores Ora-
toresq; meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo
ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi ceptum
est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum &
obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theater
 I will say little, as also of the stage: Only that the places in
 the Theater were not promiscuous. For there was a distin-
 ction betweene Senatours and yonger sort. The Senatours
 was named *ν βουλευτικόν*, among which it is probable the *n Aristoph. p.*
 Judges had the first place, as *o Pollux* The seates of the youth *578.*
 were called *εφηβικόν*. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in *o Lib. 4. c. 19.*
 which was *Θυμέλιον* either a Tribunal or an Altar. That upon
 all their stages there was an Altar sacred to *Bacchus*, is appa-
 rent out of *Donat*: he saies it stood on one side of the stage,
 before the doores, *Pollux*: who names it *Αλιδς*. There was
 more over a Table called *ΕΙλεδς*, on which before the time
 of *Thespis* some body ascending in the Poets place, did an-
 swer the *Chorus*. *Plutarch* thinks *Θέατρον* to be derived from *ρ Δα Musica*
Θεός, because that before the building of Theaters the an- *P. 441.*
 ents embracing *Musick* only for institution of youth and
 praiese of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men
 and honour of their Deities in Temples.

M 3

L I B.



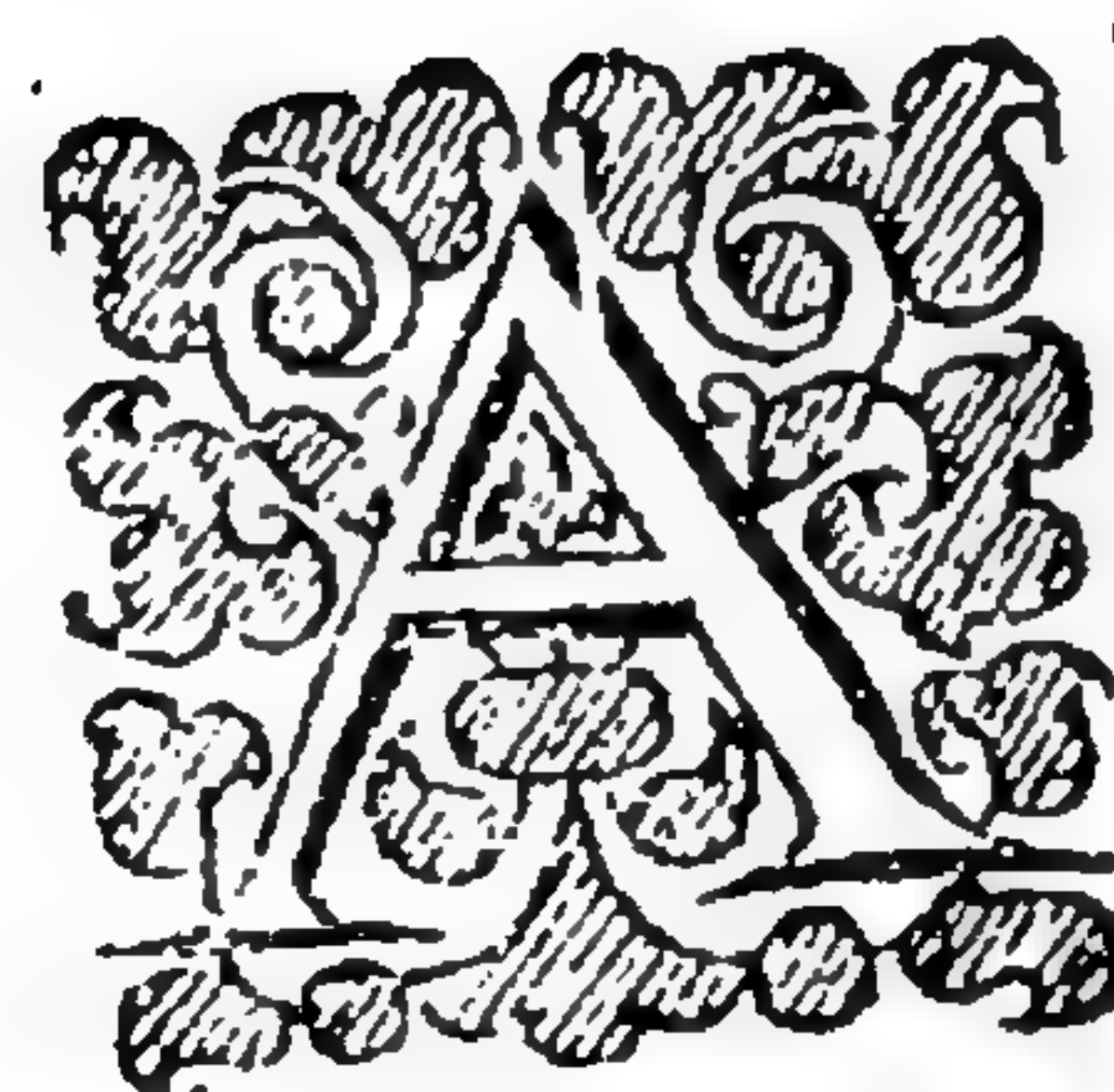


LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legumlatoribus Atticis. Νόμοι ἀγεαφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. Ἰστορία. Περίβλεμμα. De sanciendo Legibus.

^a Lib. 2. p. 27.



^b Arist. Plut. pap. 67.
^c In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.

^d Problem. 7 μ. 19. σ. κ. ii. fol. 189. b.

As ^a Justin hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the Athenian government, passing by the perpetuall and decennal Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making Solon the Father of them, but it seems otherwise. For, as ^b Gerardus hath observed, Theseus gave Lawes to the Athenians. And ^c Plutarch witnesseth, that when he congregated the Attick people, and constituted a Democracy, he reserved only to himselfe the government of warre & custody of Lawes. δημοκρατίαν (προσέειπον) αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πόλεμος καὶ νόμων φύλαξι χρησάμενον. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters & writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their laws, least they might forget them, used in the daies of ^d Aristotle by the Agathyrsi, a people neere to the Scythians. Whence afterwards the rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, & playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the ^e Lydian, Hypolydian, &c. Dorick, Hypodorick, &c. Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick, &c. songs were distinguished by the Alphabet.

Yet ^f Plutarch is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, least they might be confounded, and therefore he calls it δίκταν πόνον. & Idem. Νόμοι γὰρ προσήγορον διδασκάν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκ τινος παρὰ βλῶσαι καὶ δέκατον νενομισμένον εἶδεν τὴν πόνον. The Greekes, saies ^h Cicero, think the cause of this word, jus summi cuius, tribuendo, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus see we, that there were Lawes of yore; let

ⁱ Justin say, Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur; That the Citty was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Lawes. In succeeding ages, and before Solon too, Draco gave Lawes, living about the three hundred and ninth Olympiad. His Acts, saies ^l Aelian, were called δεσμοί. Ἐκάλουντο δ' ἐκείνοι δεσμοί. Now δεσμός, by ^m Vlpian is interpreted νόμος ὡς ἀκελεύοντος πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet ⁿ Aristotle calls them νόμοι, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to ^a Herodotus to say, that they were not the Lawes of man, ἀλλὰ δὲ δράκοντος, in a double sence of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And ^b Demades, that they were not written with black, but bloud For he punished every peccadyllor almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pothearbs, alike the sacrilegious and man-slayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by Solon. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled * ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded ^{*} Solon, a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of

^e Vide Alypi-um in Isagoge Musica.

^f In libro de Musica.

^g Ecco citato pag. 437.

^h De leg. lib. 1. fol. 16. b.

ⁱ Loco laud. Clem. Alex. p. 226.

^l Variæ hist. 1. 2. c. 10.

^m Arg. orat. con. Lepri.

ⁿ Poli. 2. c. 10.

^a Arist. Rhet. 1. 2. c. 44.

^b Plut. in Solon. p. 63. l. 2.

^{*} Demosth. p. 70.

^{*} His lawes continued 100 years saies Plutarch in strength. In Solone. p. 66.

^c after ward by little and little decayed. Aelian. Var. hist. 1. 2. c. 22.

^d If any speake against them, he had corporall punishment.

both

c Sat. 10. vers:
274.
d Κατὰ Αὐτῶν.
pag. 390.
e Pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone
p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 22.

; Bibliothec.

k Initio vitæ
Solonis.
l In Solone
p. 62. l. 8.
a Plutarch. p
62.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud
d Pag. 62. ff
teene Jaies
Polyzerus
Rhodius.

96 *Archæologia Atticæ Lib. 3. c. 1.*
both, having still a care, least while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c* Juvenal stiles *Iustum*, and for the care of the Republic, which *d* Demosthenes averres he had in all his Lawes, *e* Aristophanes termes, *φιλάνθρωπον*, a lover of the people. *f* Plutarch tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it seemes by *h* Ammianus Marcellinus, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgement of the *Ægyptian* Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoq; Iuri matrem addidit firmamentum.* *i* Diodorus Siculus relates two things brought from thence to the Athenians by him. First, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the governors of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gain, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among the, that payment should be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country, should for usury be committed to prison, or the country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced Solon to make the first decree, as *k* Laertius and *l* Plutarch say, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfy the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, *a* as some write, or else *b* lessened the burthen of it making it more moderate by his Law *Σεισάχθεια*: so called from *Σείειν*, to shake off, and *ἄχθος*, an heavy weight: Forgiving himselfe first, *c* as Laertius, seven talents; or, as *d* Plutarch, five. But this seems to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersions cast upon him as necessary to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

much money with hope of never making restitution. e Casan-
bon conceived that this was not his first exploit, but long af-
ter he had sate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it
seemes probable. There being no more compendious way to
make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common
people. which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did
willingly invent, and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For
in testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festivall na-
med f Σησιχθεις. Here likewise you may observe the ancient f Plutarch.p.
flattery of the Athenians towards their owne vices, putting 62.l.43.
gilded names on those things, which themselves were asha-
med of, calling g πόρνας, ἡταιρας; φάρμακας, συντάξεις; φυλακάς, οὐρεάς &c. as our blades name drunkenness, laudato.
good fellowship; whores, she sinners; and niggardise, thrifti-
nesse; springing from this root of Solons, who called χεῶν
ἀποκοπὴν Σησιχθειας. h To these Lawes two ends were pro- b Dem.p.477.
posed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour to-
wards the state. i To curb wickednesse, and injustice; & to i Idem p.484.
punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although
they were the ordinances of Draco and Solon, yet may we
fitly call them the Athenian Civill Law. Each City, as k Jus k Institut.l.
Justinian teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. Nam Tit.2.Sed jus
si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile A- quidem civile
theniensium, non erraverit. They were engraven in tables of ex unaquaque
wood called L. ἄξονες, triangular; if we may beleieve the civitate appel-
Scholiast of Aristophanes, who quotes Aristotle and Apol- latur.veluti A-
lodorus, witnessing that they were called κύβεις also Sch. Apollo. Rho.Argo.4.
κεκοσμημέναι εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεταμέναι frō the elevation. n Some are of m In Avibus
opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their wor- pag.604.
ship were written in the Cyrbes, and Lawes belonging to n Vize Plur.
men in the Axones. Apollodorus sayes that all decrees are P.66.
called Cyrbes, because they were written in stone, and so set
up, a which from their standing were termed στήλαι. I know a ἀπὸ πύλων.
that decrees, merites, praise & dispraise too, were written in b Vide Non-
stone. whence b λόγος ἐπιθετικὸς may be put for a Treatise num in Naz.
N ending στήλιν.

c In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux lib. 8. p. 408.

a Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

e In Pansani- am. p. 426.
f In Eliacis p. 174.
g Eodem lib. pag. 165.

h Contra Ap- pionem. Vide Justinianum. Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.
i In Avibus pag. 576.
a Pag. 577.
b Vide Justini- anum.

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Ta-
bles were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the
Pnytanum by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of *c Plutarch*,
some reliques of them were to be scene. The *Antigraphon* or
copy written with his owne hand was not removed, but
those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of
doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them.
For the distinction of which, some think that *i* *Antigraphon*
is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Pnytanum*. Others for
the Law in the lower part of the table; but to mee it seems
improbable for then the number of the table ought to be
ted; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not containe a
Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cur
in the thirteenth. I am not averse from the guesse of
Penius, who supposet the Orator to mean the Law which
afterward he quotes; nor ignorant of the opinion of some,
who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For
the Lawes being written *εσπερσθην*, *converso sive retragrade*
literarum ordine, saies *e Silburgius*; which *f Pansanius* ex-
plaines, *ἐκ τοῦ δεξιῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν*, from the right hand to the left;
g more significantly, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν*. When the second verse begins
at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Di-*
aulis, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen
turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example:

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ
VOZEHUX
See those that have written of divers
waies of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, *ἐκ δεξιῶν*,
After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtlesse
there were some customes as strong as Lawes. For although
the *Lacedemonians* governed by tradition of custome, & the
Athenians by written statutes, as *h Josephus*, yet surely had
their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses
νόμος for θῆος. *Αἰγὸν νόμον κρατύνει*. a *Scholiastes* *θεῶν νό-*
μους *ἢ γράμματα* *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*. So did the *Greeks*
divide

divide their Lawes into *ἑκείνους*, written and un-
written. The unwritten, *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*, *quod nescit ap-*
probare, use. The *o* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus saies *οἱ νόμοι* *c In Aiacem*
ἑκείνους, *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*. A Law is a written Locarium.
custome, and a custome an unwritten Law. Besides these
there were decrees which they termed *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*, *Psephis-* *d In O. at. pro*
ma, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος* *Flacco*.
ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος *e Demosthenes*. who meanes in vertue *e Cont. Lept.*
and power. For they differ much. A Law maintaines justice *p. 296.*
once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* follows the *f Aristides*
necessity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not *Tom. 2. p. 30.*
warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occasion of armes, &
as Lawes can be abrogated, so decrees chanced. And here
ought we to note, g that no decree is greater then a Law. Of *g Demosthen.*
decrees there were two sorts; *h* *δ* *Βουλῆς ἀποφασίς*, such as *h* *Ἀριστοφ.*
the Senate by it selfe established, which were but of twelve *τ. 1. p. 417.*
months continuance; to the confirming of which the people *i Ulp. in Dem.*
were not convoked, or their consent required, termed *i* *δ* *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος* *k In Vetr. 1.*
ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος, which *Demosthenes* proves to be *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*, *Ulpian.*
ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος like to the edict of the Roman *Prætor*, which
lasted but a yeare. *k Cicero. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto.*
Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt. In other decrees
the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the
giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force
a longer time. *l* *τὰς ἀγραφὰς νόμους*, *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*. *l* *Ulpian. loco*
And therefore we may easily know a *problema* from a de- *laudato.*
cree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος* *τὴν*
ἀγραφὴν, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*.
ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*. The Senate alwaies sat in consulta- *m Ulp. in Arg.*
tion about that which was to be enacted, whether any dam- *Orat. And.*
mage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law com- *p. 181. Vide*
manding that no decree should goe forth without delibera- *Dem. p. 182.*
tion. *n* *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος* *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος* *ἡ ἀγραφὴ νόμος*. Which *n. 10. vi. Plut.*
done the *Prætor* stooke certaine Tables and wrote on them *Solone. p. 63.*
31.

a Sch. in Naz.
511. a, pag.
95. vid. Ulp. in
Dem. p. 240.

b Demosth. p.
445.

c Vid. Dem.
loco cit.

d γερμανίζων
Demosthen.
Ulp. expounds
ὁ γερμανίζων,
to report.

e Cont. Ti-
mocr. p. 446.
f Demost. p.
297.

Such or such a day, about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and those affaires: and this they called a *πρυτανία*. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raise out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every yeare there should be *ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων*, which b Ulpian expounds *διδομένη δὲ, τι δὲ πρὸ τῶν πρυτάνων*. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. c The manner was this. Every eleventh day of July in the assembly after the Cryer had made his prayers, as his fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale publique, and thirdly the 9. Archons, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-wealth, &c. If any of the Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the last of the three daies of the three Convocations; on which the Prytanes, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The Prytanes chiefe of the Assembly, were to d acquaint them with it. Five men who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the judgment of the *Nomothetae*, chosen out of the Councell of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever should bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, e *ἐν ἑξελίσσει*, Demosthenes, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statues of the Heroes before spoken of, f *ἐν τῶν ἡρώων*, which

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certaine daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any so pleased, he might at the proposall of the Law declare his mind either for, or against it, as at the preferring of a Bill in our High Court of Parliament, where it is not denied any Burges or Knight of a shire, to speak his opinion pro or con, either with any whole Bill or some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it; otherwise hee came within the compasse of a writ of Transgression of the Lawes: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, a *πρὸς τὴν ἀντιθέσιν χρόνον*. Next when one is made that is adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publike, he might be questioned within a yeares space; but if the time was expired, he could not. Nay, they slew Eudemus, a Cydiathenian, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the Locri; among whom, he that would propose a Law, should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his request pleased not, he straight way poured out his soule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called *ἐν δὲ μαζαῖς ἀρχαὶ*, because they lead the people with their Rhetoricke and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of Demosthenes; and therefore are they deciphered by g *ἀντιθέσιν*, *ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιθέσιν χρόνον*.

CAP. II.

De Comitibus. *Κυρία & Σ' γὰρ ἡντιθέσιν Βουλῆσι &c.*

THE Assemblies were called by the Prytanes foure times in five and thirty daies. In the first they confirmed

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were man-
 aged well by them; otherwise they put them out. They heard
 publique causes, looked into confiscate goods, & possessions
 left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might
 freely speake of private and publique affaires. In the third,
 they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to
 deliver their letters to the *Prætoribus*. In the fourth they treat-
 ed of holy things, such as belong to their gods and worship
 of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Py-
 rænæ*, the second the twentieth, the third the thirtieth, the
 fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference betweene
 the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on
 which they came together, one making the first day of the
 moneth to be the day on which the first assembly was, the
 other the eleventh of the *Pyænæ*, which seems truest. And
 whereas they both write that every moneth there were three
 lawfull assemblies, so wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth, or
 tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but
 according to the *Pyænæ*, it being the *Pyænæ* charge to
 congregate the people. They seem to have been called *Κυρία
 ἐκκλησίαι*, because in them they did *κυρίως διαβουλεύεσθαι*, establish
 decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies
 there were which are termed *βουλεύματα*, when a warre, or any
 sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were cal-
 led together over and above those foure times in a *Pyænæ*.
 They are styled *συνέλευται* because the people of their own ac-
 cord met on the other daies; but when they would have a
 Convocation some went about the Citie and called them.
 There is likewise *κατακλήσιν*, when they were summoned
 out of the fields to goe to the assembly. It seems to me that
 the Cryer in the streets on their lawfull assemblies gave some
 token when they should hasten; and so much *a* *Aristophanes*
 witnesses, bringing in the woman speaking, that it is high
 time to be stirring, because the Cryer *ἐκείνους ἀνέκραγε* had
 cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some
 warning

g In Achar.
 p. 371.
h In Dem. p.
 445.

a In Achar.
b Ulp. & Sch.
 Arist. loc. laud.

Poll. p. 405.

d In concio-
 num p. 723.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in com-
 ming to assemblies, that the *Legisse* were faine to thong them
 to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristoph.* on these words,
ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Sometimes they took a rope, and
 dying it with red earth, they lent two flages into the market
 place, who should one of the one side of the way, & the other
 of the opposite, pursue the people, & so whole chance it fell
 to be marked with the paint, paid a certaine prece of money.
 Hence in the *f* Comedian *ἔλαβον τὴν ἀγορὰν* *Aristoph.* A-
 char. p. 371. Up and down they shun the cord stained with
 Vermilion. And againe *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* *Aristoph.* A-
 char. p. 371. *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*, the red earth which flew about
 made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and
 barracado all the streets except those that led the *Ecclesia*.
 Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they
 brought into the market, lest people, intent on their traf-
 fique, should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When
 they had met oft times the company would be dismissed at
 some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the
 like, which they called *ἀδύσματα*; and earthquakes, or o.
 ther occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting untill the
 next day. When they were come together, and the Senate
 ready to sit, one man sacrificed; which rites were called *ἀγί-
 στήρια*, because they were done at the entry of the Councell.
b *Ulpian*, *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. I will
 not justly say that it was the purification made with a
 young pig, before the bench was sate; and yet I may presume
 to averre it, the Grammarian that interprets *Aristophanes*
 witnesseth that immediately preceeding the Sessions this cu-
 stome was observed by one, whom they named *ἀγιστήριος*,
 from *ἀγίστα*, *τὸ καθαρίσθαι*, which signifies cleansing, because by
 that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congresse of the
 people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the
 good of the people, & cursed those who should offer to de-
 ceive the Senate or people. After this, he spake with a lowd
 voyce

In Achar. p.

406.

Aristoph. A-
 char. p. 371.

g Schol. Arist.
 loco laudato.

b Vide Arist.
 p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386.
 17. & 384.

34.

a Demost.

b *Ulpian*, p. 241.

b Vide & Ulp.

p. 351.

c In Concione.

p. 728. A.

d Demost.

p. 213.

c Id. p. 418.

f Alcidas
Aristoph. p.
372. Diod.
Sic. l. 15.
g Demosth. p.
29. Æschines
contr. Ctes.
initio.
h Philippic. 1.

i Plut. p. 552.
L. 11. 17.

voice, *ἡ ἀρχαία βουλὴ* who will make a speech where-
upon one of the Elders arose that gave his verdict, it being
not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reve-
rend hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h* De-
mosthenes they are stiled *βουλευταὶ*, those that were wont to
orate. After they had finished their sayings, others had leave
to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion
they had to exclude all private men from their assemblies
sometimes, when the Senate alone sat, or the *Areopageticall*
Councell; sometimes to debarre all servants, strangers, and
men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which
at other times they admitted, and then was it called *ἀγορὴ*
ἀπὸν βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, an open Theater to all comers. The
place of meeting was called *πύξ*, *Πύξ*, *πύξ* *καὶ τὰ πύξια*
ἀπὸν βουλῆς, from the frequent concourse of people there. It
stood on a rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called *πύξ*
345. *ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων*. There was a stipend for them that came
to assemblies, as you may see in *Demost.* *contra Timoc.* And
ὅπως βουλευτῶν καὶ ὀνόματος. Because they might be at leisure
without damage. *Aristot. Pol. 1. c. 13.* They assembled
also in *Piræus*. *Ulp. in Dem.*

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primū de
Senatu Πεντακοσίῳ.

WHen the mutiny betwene the faction of *Megacles*
& *Cyle* disturbed the Attick Common wealth, *Sol-*
on perswaded the people that those, who for their
audacity in drawing away the suppliants frō the Altars they
named *εὐαγέες* should undergoe judgement, there were cho-
sen *k* three hundred men, *καὶ τριῶν*, according to their worth,
to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetuall judicato-
ry. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the
usury

k Plut. Solone,
P. 60. l. 31.

usury mony, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out
of every Tribe, which was then but foure, an hundred cho-
sen, who by their advice should direct the people in those
things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be in-
ducted, or proposed to the Assembly, without due conside-
ration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, *m Aristotle m Polit. l. 6. c. 8.*
saies are more properly called *αὐτοκρατοὶ*, but where the Root
rules, *βελή*. But when *Clisthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed
ὁ κατὰ κράτος, *ὁ ὁμοτιμίας*, had augmented the number of the
Tribes from the foure to tenne, eighty six yeare after *Solon's*
Lawes were received, he made the number five hundred, ta-
king fifty of every Tribe, which double tenne times make up
the summe. This Councell by *Aristotle* is described *ἡ μέγιστη*
κυρία πάντων, *The Mistrisse of all the rest*: and I am not of opi-
nion that *ἡ ἀνω βουλὴ* in *Plutarch*, is to be understood of the
Areopagus, as if that were above the Senate, but as instituted
first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know
b one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quam officio, secundum post*
Areopagus locum obtinere. To this Counsel none was cho-
sen under thirty yeares of age, which time is stiled *βελδοτικὴ μέγιστη* in
ἡλικία by *c Libanius*. And doubtlesse *d Plutarch* justifies it
speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Orations against *An-*
drotion, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, *ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐξοπληλουδῶς*,
when he had not attained to the managing of state busi-
nesse, because we wanted two or three of thirty yeares. A-
greeing to this is *e Junius*, who saies that *Solon* admitted none
very young, though very wise no Magistracy or Councell.
Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us the green heads
were not permitted to speak publikely. The law prohibiting
any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is tru-
est) thirty, one these words.

Καὶ γὰρ παρδένει ὅ ἐστιν ὡς, καὶ ἐξ ὧν οὐ καὶ τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden
from me. They were called likewise *ἡλικῶς*, as well as *Πεν-*
τακοσίοι, and their Tribunall *ἡλικία*, from the word *ἡλικία*,
which

a in Solon. p.
63.

b Posiardus.
false, for Pau-
sanias calls it
Att. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Arg. otar.
con. Androt.
d Vita decem
Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus
serm. 112.

f In Nub. p.
157.

g Ulp. Dem.
p. 445.

* Ulp. loc. lau-
dato. vide &
Aristoph. Sc.
p. 436.
a Pag. 486.

b Dem. Orat.
cont. Tim.

which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is * ἐν τῷ ὄρει-
θρον εἶ) ὃ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ὃ ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἐνδον παρβάλλεν, because the place
was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this
a Aristophanes makes that cold conceit branded by Didy-
mus, Εἰλη κατ' ὄρεθρον, ἡλιαστὴς πρὸς ἥλιον, In the morning thou
shalt ἡλιαστῇ in the sun-shine. At their admission they had
this oath given them. b ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ νόμους, &c. I will give
sentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of
Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not consent to be
a Tyrant, or bring in Oligarchie: Neither shall any approbation
be to any that will dissolve the Democracie of Athens by speech;
or decree, I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the
Athenian lands or houses. I will not bring back exiled men, or
those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any
innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, &
Senate of five hundred: neither by my selfe or suffer any other. I
will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of
his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the
holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine
Archons by lot, Ambassadors and assistants. Neither shall the
same man beare the same office twice, or twice in one yeare. I will
not take gifts for judgment neither my selfe or other for me, or
others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then
thirty. I will heare both parties, the accuser and defendant, alike.
I will pass judgment aright in the thing prosecuted. I swear
by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another oath
which they took; some clauses whereof, we have left in re-
cord. To ratifie the Lawes of Solon. Plutarch in Solone. p. 62.
To give counsel for the best of the people. To advise according
to the Lawes. I will not bind any Athenian, who shall give three
fourties of the same revenues, unless for treason, or bee conspire
the subversion of state popular, or buy custome, or be engaged, or
gather publique money and not pay it. I will sit in the order
which lot shall direct me to. I will not permit any unlesse bani-
shed

* If I transgress
any of these, let me
and my house pe-
rish: but if I
faithfully keep
them according
to my oath, let me
be happy and pro-
sperous.
Dem. p. 470.

shed to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was
made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when a Thra-
sybulus gave them to oath μὴ μνηστικῆσαι, not to remember a Vide Zeno
ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστία. The authority of in Ἐκκλησίᾳ.
this Counsel was great, for it handled causes of war, tributes, Cic. init. Phil.
making of Lawes, civill busineses and events, affaires of con- 1. Vellertium.
federates, collections of money, performance of sacred rites, 2 p. 84. Arist.
accounts of offices discharged, appointing keepers for priso- Sch. in πλ.
ners, & ἀσφαλεία of Orphanes, as b Xenophon. c Resembling our Æschin. contr.
Court of Parliament in England, by whose consent all Laws Ctesiph.
are abrogated, new made, right & possessions of private men b Athen. Rep.
changed, formes of religion established, Subsidies, Talies, c See Sir Tho.
Taxes, and Impositions appointed, waights and measures al- Smith in his
tered, &c. As not unlike also the Venetian Gran Consiglio, or Communion-
Senate, of which the Contarene, d Tutta la cura del governo wealib of Eng-
della Repubblica appartiene al Senato, &c. The whole manner d As Branchirio
of the Comon-wealths goverment belongeth to the Senate Andirimi hath
That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and translated it.
inviolable. By their authority & rule is peace confirmed and lib. 3. fol. 34 B
war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Com-
mon-wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in,
and likewise laid out againe and defrayed, &c. In a word, I
may say of these five hundred, as a Budens of the Parliament a In Pandect.
of France; Amplissimam eam curiam causarumq; omne genus Prio. p. 298.
diceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse, that that Court is most
ample, and justly and equally decided all sortes of contro-
versies whatsoever. b To their charge was committed the ma-
king of new ships, for which at the yeares end they were to b Dem. 385.
be rewarded by the people. To this alludes c Aristophanes. c Avib. p. 546.
Ποδὶ πρὸς τὸ ἥϊον; Ἐνδ' ὅδιν αἱ τεύρεαι καὶ αἱ. Εὐα' Μῶν ἡλιαστῶν— 93.
d Without their consent could the people doe nought, as in- e Pag. 234.
deed they made not any thing *sanctum* against the peoples f Demosthen.
wills. Hence in e Demosthenes, ὅτι βαλὼν ποιοῦσιν τὸ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
εἶναι. In testimony of their preheminance are they termed g Idem καὶ
f κύριοι φῆσαι, and g οἱ αἱ κύριοι. The Lords of sentence. In Mædus.
O 2 time

b Plut. in Ci-
mone p. 356
l. 50.

i. Verbo Em-
mian in De-
scrip. Reip.
Athen.

h Contaren.
l. l. fol. 11, b.

time of warre they would send Commissions to their Cap-
taines, as they thought requisite. b Such as in the battaile be-
twene the *Lacedæmonians* and their countremen in *Tana-
gra*, where fearing least *Cimon* banished by *Ostracisme* should
betray them to the *Lacônians*, they sent to the commanders
not to entertaine him in the Army. The honour was not du-
ring terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apostolius*,
ὁ μὲν ἦν πεντακισίων καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κληρονομήν βαλόντων. Which
Anonymus in *Arg. Orat. contr. Androt.* expresses by κατ'
ἐνιαυτὸν διεσέχτο. The maner of choosing them is this. i The
chiefe of every tribe, on an appointed day before the begin-
ning of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all
their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and cast them
written into a vessell, and into another they put an hundred
white beanes, and all the rest black; Then drawing out a
name and then a beane, to whose chance the white beane
fell to be extracted with his name, was designed Senator.
This they did when they had but foure Tribe, and so foure
hundred Senatours. But when they had tenne Tribes, there
could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of the
tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the ele-
ction observed by the *Venetians* upon the fourth day of de-
cember, when the names of all the young men that have not
by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed twenty five
yeares old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, &
there the same set before the Counsellours, with which there
is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num-
ber of the names written in the first, every one having his
marke, the fift part of these balls is gilded with gold, the rest
with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball,
which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name
is drawne, is presently admitted to publique authority, they
to whom the silver chance, loose it for that time, expecting it
the ensuing yeare, unless in the meane space they accomplish
twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake
of

of the Citties liberties. So every yeare the fift part of the yon-
kers is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use
in choosing I deem the same, & shall untill I find authentike
writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cli-
stenes* according to the Tribes, so by his successours. For
when they added two the number was encreased 100, by
reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias* after named *At-
talis* & *Ptolomais* in honour to the Kings of that name which
were benefactours to the State αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων πεντακισίων & 100. *Stephanus*
σα ἑκακισίων ἐποίησαν. b Out of these were their Judges chosen, πάλαι.
but such as were above threescore yares old. For although b *Arist. Schol.*
juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged p. 37.
under that age. εἰσέρχοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκ ἑδραζόντων. To
these was any businesse referred, of which the Senate and
people were in suspense what to determine. c. *Aristoph.* Εἰς
δ' ἢ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κείναι μέγα πρὸς γὰρ ἀπορίῃσι Εὐφριστείταις
ἀδιδούντων τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδούνοι. When the Councell and
people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they de-
cree to deliver the guilty over to the Judges. And no mar-
vell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κείναι, prerogative in
sentence; saies d *Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions d *Pol. l. 3. c. 13.*
which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving πάλαι ὁ νόμος
sentence before the third yeare of the ninety second Olym-
piad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their own
Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten
Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to which
one of them the chance happened, and sate judge. I cannot
say that the manner of election was like that of the *Syracu-
sians* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names
of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him, whose name should first be drawn, of that
sacred function. But of our own must I speake f When then f *Aristophan.*
they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with
him a table and a wand on which was written a letter that
did betoken some Judicatory, (For there being ten Tribunals
every

c In vesp. p.
471.

d *Pol. l. 3. c. 13.*
πάλαι ὁ νόμος
ἀδιδούντων τοῖσι
δικασταῖς παραδούνοι.
εἰς ἐν.

e *Cic. in Ver.*
rem. A. 3.

f *Aristophan.*
πάλαι. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to K. over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A. was taken out, sat in the Court noted with A. and B. with B. and so to K. This done, they shewed their lots to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their wand & table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call the rod of authority a wand or staffe: because that *g* *Βακτηρία* κ' *ῥῆμα* κ' *πειρώνιον* ἢ *πειώβολον*, was a proverb used in derision of the Judges. *b* This staffe at the daies end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the *a* *Scholiast* teaches us other waies, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator, *ὦ κριταὶ ἡλιασῶν, φερόμεν πειώβολα, οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω*—Judges which I feed. Their pay was not alwaies the same, *εἰς ἵστατο*, *b* saies the inrerpreter of *Aristophanes*. First they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus* surnamed *Parnytes* was author of. Hence the proverb *εὐβολὸν ἔδρε Πάρνυτις*. Afterwards it was augmented by *Calicrates*, and from him grew the word *εὐπὶ τὰ Κληματα* it may be, for a prety summe of mony, Nay it changed, for now I read of *ὀβολὸς ἡλιασικὸς* one, and anone *πειώβολον* three a *Drachme* or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more sometime lesse. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their causes of Law, in which I shall adde,

When any one had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custome to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which was written, *f* *Κατηγορῶ τὸδε κ' ἀποκηρύττει* *τὸτον διὰ τὸ δέινθ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*. I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N. not unlike the *Romans* proceedings, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate, before the accusation; to which *g* *Plautus* alludes, *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestros, ibi nomina Faxo erunt*—when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plantiffe, whether he had wit-

g Suidas pro-
verb.

b Sch. Aristop.

a Sch. 30.

a In Equites
pag. 301.

In nubes pag.
174.

c Appendix.
Vaticana.
d Zenobius.

e Sch. Aristop.
p. 487.

f Ulp. in Dem.
p. 343.

g A sinaria Aet.
p. 54.

nesses and would prosecute the matter, who answering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to summon the defendant to his appearance, and this he did either by himselfe or other, called therefore *κλητήρ*, *b* for *κλητής* is ἡ ἐκ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, a bringing into suit: *καλῶνται γὰρ εἰς δικαστήριον*. The word signifies a witnesse also. For when they warned any to the Tribunall, they bad any that stood by to testifie that they had admonished them. *ἡ κλητήρ ἐστὶ καλῶντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις κ' τὸ μάρτυρα*. You may use *κλητήρ* for an Apparitor, Sergeant, Baliffe or the like. Sometimes they would runne straight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *h* *Demosthenes* his phrase, sometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may see out of *i* *Aristophanes*. *Καὶ δ' εἰλκον αὐτὸν*—But if the partie could put in two *ἀξιοχρεῶς*, sufficient bayle, he was dismissed. Hence in *m* the Comcedian. *ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι καταστήσω δύο Ἀξιοχρεῶς*. I will procure the a couple of able suerties. Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a weeke or more after the *vocationem in jure*, at which time if the Defendant were not personally at the Judgment seat, he came within compasse of *ἐρήμης* a *Writ* of *Exemodiciam*, refusall to come in and answer. Which was avoided by suing for a *μὴ ἔσται* in tenne daies asfer. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indicta causa*, so *a* *Budeus* expounds *ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικαζοῦναι*, by this therefore the case was renewed, and stood as at first, the sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this was it termed *μὴ δύσται*, *b* ὅτι πρῶτον διοῦσα ἐστὶ καὶ κακυῶσαι, ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ, because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power but at last was nothing. The businesse then made a new the party that was cast by an *ἐρήμην*, after that he had obtained a *μὴ δύσται*, was within two Moneths to set the Law on foot, which they terme *ἀντιλαχείη δίκην*, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to Court, unlesse upon good grounds, was liable

b Sch. Arist.
190.

i Sch. Arist. p.
442.

h ἐπὶ καταλήν
εἰς τὸ δικαστή-
ριον βαδίζον
p. 596. n. 17.

i In Vespis p.
487.

m Arist. Con-
cio. p. 755.

a In prioribus &
Post. No. ad
Pand.
b Vlp. in Dem.
p. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p.
390.

liable to *ἑυδελαντεῖα; δίκη*, a writ of molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendant's answer. This the Greeks call *δ' Ἀντιγραφῶν*, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also that all cases in law were termed *εὐαγγεῖα*, *κρίσις*, *ἡ ἀντιγραφὴ*. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in Athens for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is *πικρογαστρία*, they made a Law, that whosoever accused and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certaine summe; which if he paid not at the constituted time was fourefold; & if his ability reached not so far, he suffered in prisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphē*, testimonies were also delivered, (formes of which you shall often meet with in *Demosthenes*) and a copy of an oath, wick the Suiter gave, in these words *ἰ Τάλῃθ' ἡ καταγογγήσας*, that he would justly accuse. *Τάλῃθ' ἡ καταγογγήσας*, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: and this they name *ἡ ἀντιωσσία*. These writings were cast into a certaine coffer, forth comming as occasion should require; all which *ἰ Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. *Ἀντιωσσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων*, They joyned or put together oathes, citations & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiast's mind, who will have *προσκλήσεις* to be exortations given to the Plantiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *ἡ προσκαλέσθαι* is *κατερεῖν*, *εἰς δικαστήριον ἔλκεν*, to accuse, *in jus rapere*, and *προσκαλέσθαι*, *ἡ ἀμαρτυρίαν ἀποχρησιάζειν*. The chest or coffer was called *ἐχθρον*, and of this are the words of the Greeke Oratours to be understood *οὐ εἰς ἐχθρον βάλλειν*. *p Theophrastus* of a mad man that would intangle himselfe in any thing, *ἐχθρον εἰς τὸ προσκαλέσθαι, καὶ ὑπομάδεις γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ χερσίν*. Having an *Echinus* in his lap, and abundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different exposition of this oath from that which

that which other Gramarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the *προσκαλέσθαι* & *ἀντιωσσία*, with *δικασία*. For *προσκαλέσθαι* is that first oath, which the Plantif gave to the prosequute, the party prosecuted to answer, which on the defendants side was called *ἀντιωσσία*, & generally on both, *δικασία*. *ἡ ἀντιωσσία*, follow the delinquent in law: the defendant *ὡς ἐκ ἐπαγγελίας παραίνου*, to stand stilly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *Ulpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another admitted to the judicatory, it being first demanded of the Suiter whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, & had sufficient witnesses for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any, who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed *δ' Ἀνάκρισις*. If then any thing was deficient, the judgment was prorogued by an *εὐαγγεῖα*, or an oath, which the Plantif took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were no Lawes according to conscience and equity (which the Greeks call *νόμιμον δικαιοπάτηλον*) and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seemes to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *ἰ Plutarch*. *ἦγοντο δὲ βόμῃς τέρεν*. The oath is called *ἀμφοτεροχρία*. Then went the Judges to their seates & neatly spred with matts, in Greeke *ἰμάδα* and *ἡ ἀντιωσσία*, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars, in this form *ἰ μαρτυρίῃ ἔξω*, they sate down. For we must know that the Athenian Judicatories were environed in as the Romans, with letice I suppose, by them called

Schol. Aristoph. Vesp.

In Demost. p. 287.

Vide. Ulpian in Dem. pp. 347.

341.

Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan p. 341.

Ulpian in Dem. p. 226.

the Scho. of Aristoph.

makes it the same with

ἡ ἀντιωσσία πα. p. 75.

Ulpian in Demost. 341.

g Pollux l. 8. pag. 406.

h Dem. pag. 628.

1 Pag. 122.

Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.

Demost.

m Poll. lib. 8.
p. 407.
n Pollux loco
citato.
o This is
αειχρίνισμα.
Pollux.
p Pag 485.
a Plutarch. in
Vita.

b Aristoph. p.
494.
c Aristoph.
Sch. Ibid.

Περὶ Πανταίν-
ετον p. 567.
e Boemus De
Custum delle
Genti. lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Arist. Rhet.
l 1. c. 33.
f Stromat. 1.
pag. 226.
g In Bruto;

called *καγγελωται Cancellata*, by the Greeks *κυκλίδες*, though *κυκλίδες*, more properly signify the doore of the *δικαστήριον* before which was a rope of fifty foot length drawn, and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who had businesse. The partition I think was but weak, & therefore by *Demosthenes* called *ἀδανής κυκλίδες*. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when *a Demosthenes* did long to heare *Callistratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogus* that he would bring him, where he might have the happinesse to be an auditour. The *Pædagogus* therefore acquainted with the publique officers that opened the doores, *τὸ ἀνοίγοντα τὰ δικαστήρια δικαστῶν*, procured him a place where he might heare and not be seen, *ὥς ἡ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀδύνατος ἀκούσασθαι*. When then the Judges had gone within the bars, lest any should be wanting the *Præco* cried *ἔτι τι ἐκδύνασθαι ἡλικιῶν, εἰσὶ περ*, if any Judge be without the doore of the place of judgment, let him enter. c Because if any came after the case began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated the Crier read the Inditement, *ἐγκλημα* (a copy of some part of which you have in *d Demosthenes*. *ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c.*) in which according to the custome of the old *Egyptians*, were given up to the court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received & the manner of it, with an estimation of the damage; The severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, least the Impleader and Defendant should swerve from that they had in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunall, & spake an accusatory oration, made for the most part by some of the *Attick* Orators: which use brought in by * *Antiphon the Rhamnæssian*, f *Clemens of Alexandria* calls *δικανικὴ λόγος εἰς ἐκδοτὴν γράσσειν* g *Cicero*. *scribere aliis causas, quibus in judiciis uterentur*, such as *Eysias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which least it should exceed in length, was limited to a certaine time, by a vessell,

in

in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run, as sand doth in houre glasses, thence called *κλέψυδρα*, into which was poured an equall measure of water; and least there should be deceit; there was an officer made for that purpose named *h* *Εὐδωρ* ὁ *κλέψυδρον τὴν ἰσοπέδα τὴν κλέψυδρα*, filling alike for the Impleader and answerer. i When therefore the glasse was runne, it was not lawfull for them to speake farther, k nay for scantinesse of time they were compelled to passe by many things, & for that reason were they chary of their water, bidding that it should be stopped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demosthenes* intimates in *Σὺ δ' ἐπὶ λυγρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ*, as *ῥίνα ἐπιλαμβάνειν* is to stop the nose in *l Aristophenes*. m *Apuleius*. *At tu interea dum legis, aquam sustine*. *Pancirollus*. *Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, amplius sibi dicendi præbita foret facultas*, least he might not have leave to speak any more, if the water were spent. If any would give way to another to speak while his glasse was running, he might; which *Demost.* testifies; *ἐν πρὸς ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλείτω*. But if he would not permit it, he had the *Præco* cast it forth *a* *ἔξω τὸ ὕδωρ*. *Ulpian*. *Τετέστιν ἐν Καλλε*, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* *πρὸς τὴν κλέψυδρα*, c *Cicerone*, *ad clepsydram*, to speak by the houre or an allotted time. His speech being ended, he sat down. d The defendant then sitting all that while over against him, untill he had finished after addressed himselfe to his answer, which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, & station. For this reason (saies *c Aristotle*), *ὡς δὲ δικαιοσύνην* because they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper hand to the defendant. Or because *οἱ παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν* or defendants, were for the most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant stood there also. Thence then he pleaded for himselfe; in which plea, he was only to wipe out those accusations which adversary laid against him, *φύσιν κατηργηθέντων λύσιν ποιεῖν*, And in that had the plantif a

P 2

prerogative

b Pollux. l. 8.
pag. 404.
i Ulpian in
Dem. p. 356.
k Demost.
πρὸς Βοιωτῶν.
p 586.

l in Pluto.
m Apologia.

a Demost.
πρὸς Φορμ.
b Aristoph.
617.

c Tusc. Qu.
l. 2 in fine.
l Ulpian. in
Dem. 226.
e Problem.

ὡς δὲ δικαιοσύνην
f Ulpian in
Demosth p.
252.

g Loco laudato. **rogative.** For he might object what he would; nay and as *Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit, and feigne to himselfe what he pleased; The defendant perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himselfe, *h* either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts, whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff & defendant would desire Advocates of the Judges, *Συνήγοροι*, hence *ἐμπροσθεν*, to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witnesses were called, who came in, & gave their testimonies, & after they had uttered what they had to say, they went to the Altar (as it seemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) & swore *k* *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterq; vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publice, & ut mos Græcorum est jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in *Athens*, when a certaine man (*l* *Xenocrates*) who had lived godly & gravely among them, had given witness, & as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voyce cryed, that he should not (They would not, it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him *μαρτυρεῖν* *ἵνα δῷς* to testifie a lye, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your freind, quoth he, to the Altar, that is, as far as conscience, religion, & honesty shall permit; hence *ἄρχε βοῦς φίλος* *ἔδ' usq; ad aras* grew, I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph. p. 112.* Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown) called *λοβοὶ* from *λαμβάνειν*, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for remembrance sake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet antestari? ego vero Oppono auriculam*—To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthia autem vellit & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof

h Demost.
p. 219.

i Clemens
Alex. These
had certaine
penforgers
under them
that admini-
stred the
Lawes and
formes of
Aion. Cicero.
apud Græcos
intimi homi-
nes mercedu-
lâ adducti mi-
nistros se
præbent in
judiciis Ora-
toribus iis, qui
apud illos.
μαρτυροὶ
vocantur.
k Corneliana.
Vide ad Atti-
c. im. l. 1. c. 13.
l. Vide Laer-
tium in vita
ejus.

thereof with all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsely. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ *ψευδωπειῶν*, of false witness, and he that suborned them *κακοτεχνίῶν*. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers term *ἀκοή*, as *ἡ ἀκοή τελευτηκότων*, *m* Demost. when they take from those that are dead, which went *pp* 619 634. for current, & was allowable. But to bring a testimony from the Mouth of one that was alive, and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, *ἀτιμίαι* or servants, or any man in his own cause. ^a The manner of witness was two- ^a Ulpian in Demosth. 238. fold, either by personal appearance & testifying *ᾧτε προσώπῳ*, and then he was called *μάρτυς*, in no case liable to the Law, *ἐπιδίκαιος*: or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attachments in Law, against whom he witnessed; if he were not true; and this is *ᾧπρὲς εἶα*. Both parties being heard & the altercation ceased, the *Præco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpretert *ἐδίκαιεν*, *jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebbles, called *ῥοκναίαι* (which the French seemblably terme *Procellaines*, *χίεσς porcus*) *c* Ovid.

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisq; Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.*

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicile* to goe home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he was never like to escape; when one asked *ked d' ἐπεύεις ἢ πατεῖς τὴν ἀπὸ σέ κείσιν*; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? *οὐδὲ τῷ αὐτεῖ*, *lib. 13. c. 38.* quoth he, *ἀέδικα γὰρ ἀγνοήσας καὶ σφαλεῖται τὸ ἀληθές*, *τὴν* *Plut. Mor. p. 140.* *μέλαιναν ἐμβάλας ἀπὸ τῆς λευκῆς*. No not her, that brought me

me forth. For I feare least she being ignorant and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the white stone. The blacks made *tristim sententiam*, and was so named, the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beanes; in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a riddle *καὶ μὴ ἐσθίειν*, not to eat beanes, by *e Nannius* interpreted *μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὸ δίκαιον* or *δωροδοκίαν χρημασιν*, not to undermine justice with bribes; or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason but that I may think he meanes men ought not to be forward in getting places of judgment. For *f κωμοσώζ* in *Aristophanes* is by the Scholiast expounded *δικαστής* & *g κωμὸς* *αὐτῶ* is used for a Judge, which properly signifies an eater of beanes. But afterwards they had little pellets of brasse; The bloody ones of them were peirced through, therefore termed, *h τερσυμέναι*: the saving were whole, *ἀγυποί*. Of these every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the *ψῆφος*, or bals they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were ready to passe sentence *a* the *Prætor* carried about the *κάδιν*, or *καδίσκον*, a certaine pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it *ὀδεῖον*) having on the mouth of it a conveyance like a Tunnel, named *κημὸς*, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for the avoiding of deceit, I suppose, least one man might cast in more; and therefore were they to touch the *ψῆφον*, only with the fore-finger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* *Τὰς πρεῖς συνέχων ἔκ' ἀκτύλων, ἀνίσταται.* But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of brasse called *περίτερος*, whether because they first threw into it their voices, or because it may signify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being wooden

e In Naz.
Stellit. 15.

f Pagina 290.
g Lystrata.
p. 870.

h Pollux 18.
pag. 497.
Ulpian in
Dem. 407.
i Ulpian in
Dem. p. 162.

a Aristoph.
485
b . ag. 263.

c Pag. 437.
vide Scholiast.
d Aristoph.
Vespis 500.

woodden *ὀστέος*. After the Crier had gone round with both; because some would keep their bals, and for favour nor give their voice against a freind or a great person, therefore he cried *εἰ τίς αὐτῶν ἔσθ' ἀνίστασθαι*, who hath not cast in his ball? let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them; and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whose vessell (for there was as many set as the number of the litigants came to) had most; got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a rod, & laid it over those that were told, lest they should mistake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For so were they wont to doe; thence named *f ψηφοκλέπτω*. Which *g Tencer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulysses*; and therefore he calls him *κλέπτης ψηφοποιόν*. Sch. *δύλιον κειτλῶν*: not amisse *ψηφοκλέπτης*. *h* When the number was known, if the white or solid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a short line, as a token of absolution; if the black or hollow were more they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence *i ἀπασιν τιμὰν μακρὰν*, may be used, for to condemn every body. The thing it selfe they termed *καλοκί-ζεν*, as *Aristophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (as none never was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what dammages he should pay, which they terme *ἐπυγράφειν*. *m Plinarch.* *δέκα τάλαντα πέννημα ἐκάσῃ τῷ δικάν ἐπυγραφήμεν*. *n* For it was a use of old for those that went to Law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did swear by three gods *Ικίπον*, *Καθάρισον*, *Ἐξακισήειον*) and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; and afterwards *ἐπυγράφειν*, that is set downe what losse of limbs or life, or meanes &c. For although they did *οὐκ ἐπυγράφεσθαι* give their estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that might be lesse or more then the fine. There was in

c Aristoph.
Vespis.

f Schol. Naz.
in *σηλ.*
g Sophocles
Ajace. p. 68.

h Schol. Arist.
438.

i Aristoph.
Vesp. loco.
cit.

k Pag. 491.
l Aristoph. p.
472.

m *ἑίοις ῥήλ.*
p. 454.

n Schol. Arist.
in *πλ.* pag 50.

o Schol. Arist.
40.

a Comarion.
de Rep Ven.
lib 3.

b Apolog.
Socr. p. 265.

c De Orat. 1.
fol. 61. b.

d Laertius in
Socrat. p. 115.

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Aristoph. p.
244.

i Probl. viii.
κθ.

in cause capitall another proceeding, like to that in the city of *Venice*, where they gave two sentences. In the first they determined whether they should condemne or free; If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second. But if in the first they found no cause of death, they bid the accused to fine himselfe, which *Xenophon* intimates by *ἐπιμύσειν*, & if it were too little, the Judges doubtlesse made it more, as the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, if I forget not: The custome is set downe by *Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*. *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus est &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those, which, by the appointment of the Lawes, they were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty, if the offence were not capitall, they weighed and considered the penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the defendant, what he thought himselfe to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common wealth this is not observed.) In triall if there be more for the prisoners liberty, the against him, he is straight acquitted, but if more then half be in the pot of condemnation he suffers. *Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him, then on his side; & at the next eighty more were added to the former, so in all he had three hundred threescore and one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in *Demosthenes* of *Cimon* like to be punished with death *παρὰ πλείους*, if three had not been wanting. And againe *πλείους* *ἢ τρεῖς*, if three had not been wanting. Nay one was sufficient, *g Demosthenes*. *μὴ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ*. But *Ulpian* on the place *ὡς περὶ μὲν δὲ δίδοναι πινεῖν*, saies, that hee was lightly punished. *h* If the voices were equall, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspicion; or of those things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was sued out of envy, and many other reasons given by *Aristotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

leave some place for pittie and compassion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *deserts* of their ancestors; their own lives formerly well led. Sometimes shewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haire of their parents, but *m* mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence: Sometimes imbracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view; or caused them to come up into the *βήμα*, or pulpit, & supplicate with teares, which wrought so much upon the Judges, that *b Aristophanes* in a scoffe presents one *πατρὶν γράμῳ*, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the prisoner, *κατὰ βῆμα*, wishing him to goe downe from the *βήμα*, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. *Νεώτατον ὦν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖται ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι ἀναβάντων*, they thundred out, *καταβάντων ταῖς ἐκ τῆς βήματος*. Neither may I forget *e Amyntas* the brother of *Aeschylus* the Tragædian, who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand, lost in the fight at *Salamis*; by which spectacle the Judges calling to minde the merits of *Amyntas*, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what *f Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: *g* And that they condemned innocents, and spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole yeare, saies *h Xenophon*, and *i Aristophanes*. *Ἀλλ' ἐχέτω τὰς ἐπιδικασίας εἰς ἓξ μῆνας, ἢ ἑσάμηνες*. Now we doe not handle suits of above three score yeares, but we are put off untill the next day. *Τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν εἰκοστὸν καὶ ἐκδικοζόμενους*. For we come to triall within twenty yeares. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their employments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of

k Dem. p. 492.
l Aristid. T. 3.

m Dem. p. 493.
n Aristid. loco cit. παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρῶν

οἰκονομίαν.

a Aristop. pp.

b Vesp. p. 499.

c Sch. Ar. 500.

d Laert. Socr.

e Elia. Var.

f Athen. Rep.

g Apol. Socr.

h Athen. Rep.

i Εκκλησιαζ.

752. 753.

They are translated foolishly into latine.

is what the Pro-

hours in the

Civill Law usu-

ally meane by in

proximum in

proximum.

k Budæus in
Pand. No.
Relig. p. 31.
l Demost. in
Mid. 347.

m Cont. An.
dro. 388.

n Dem. p. 406.

the accused was (as among the Romans, whence *Rei perituri*) exposed in a publique table to the view of all men, which they terme *ἐκείνου*: *Demosthenes* ἵνα ἐκείνῳ πρὸς τῇ Επαύριον. *Ulpian* πρὸς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ βλάπτει. You see here the place too, viz. at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but *αἴτια*, by *m. Demosthenes* termed *μῆλός λόγος*. a bare report: but after prooffe *ἐπεγχεσθῆναι ὅτι ἐν ἑσπέρῃ τῇ καὶ τὰ ληνέας ὅμῳ δειξάν.* After judgement past, *ἡ ἀδίκηματα*. An inditement of sacrilege, theft, murder, treason, is but *ἀντία*: the evidence and conviction makes it *ἐπεγχεσθῆναι*, the sentence *ἀδικήματα*.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitis.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*, in the old translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendred *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars his street*, falsely. For *ἡ ἀρεὰ* beares not that signification, but what *b Justin Martyr* interprets, *ἡ ἐκείνου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Επαύριον*. an eminent place. For *τὸ ὄρος* καὶ *τὸ πρὸς τῇ Επαύριον*. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *o. Æschylus*, & *d. Euripides*, *Ἀρεὰ ὄρος*, by *c. Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavertis*, and *f. Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*. so called, as *fond Antiquities* would have, g from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonne of *Neptune*: but *b Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of adultery, *καὶ χεῖρας ἐκείνῳ δίκας ἐδωκεν*. But alike true. It pleases me to consider the superstition of the ancients, that consecrated high places to their deities, & erected the statues of their Gods upon hills. As *i Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*. *Because built neere a well.* Perot. *b In A. & p. 136.* *c Eumenid.* *p 296.* *d Elest. p. 836.* *e Metamorph. l. 6. fab. 2.* *f Vide Scalig. in conjec.* *g Der molt. p. 413.* *Paul. 26.* *Simeon Met. et Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Areopag.* *h Loco citato.* *Paul. Attic. p. 31.*

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill *Ποσειδῶν ὄρος*, *Saturne* another *Κρόνος ὄρος*. *Pan* another *Πανὸς ὄρος*, *Mercury* another *Ερμῆος ὄρος*, so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. *k Æschylus* gives it a no *k Eumenid.* mination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when *P. 196.* they came & fought against *Thebes*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes name frō the cases in it handled, of blood wilfully shed: so *Hesychius*, *Ἀρεὰ ποινῆς*, that when *l Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret *l Satyr. 9. v.* it, *The Court of murder*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m. Tragædian*, the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend *m Æschylus* counsell, then which nothing is more constant (saies *n Tully*, pag. 197. comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe, as *n Ad. Atticum* by *o Pseudo-Dictys Cretensis* it is styled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, *o De bello* more just, or honest, saies *p Xenophon*, *q Plutarch* writes that *Tio 16. p.* this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and *r Cicero* received the *p Attic. p. 448.* like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they, *q In Solonc.* who had lost their liberties, should be restored again, unless *pag. 63.* they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetae*, *Prytanes*, *r Offic. l. 1.* *Basileis*, of murder, slaughter, tyranny, whē that law was enacted. And by & by, *f Titus* καὶ ἵσαν ἐν τῇ Σόλωνος, &c. Who *(Loco laud.* were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*). *Others* are of opinion, that *Solon* *Pollux. l. 8.* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetae*. Judges so call'd, because *p. 407.* when formerly the *Basileis* made inquisition after murder unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it *ἐκείνου*, that is, translated it to the *Ephetae*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous. *u Possardus* saies he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But *r Urbo emmā* *u De Athen.* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate *mag. p. 446.* but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and *a De Repub. Athen. p. 20.* firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seemes lessened

b Vide Maximus in Prolog. ad S. Dionysii. opus & Niceph. l. 2. in vita Dion. c Pachymer. d Illoc. in Arcopag p. 133. e Loco supra laudato. f Atthid. l. 2. g Anonym. in Argu. Oratio Androcia. * They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the Archon, Themistocles. Basiliscus, Polemarchus, for which cause Pericles was not of that number because he never attained to these offices. Plut. in Peric. p. 113. h Anonymus loco laudat. i De statu Italiae adversus Machiavel.

lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetae*; Solon restored that authority & made it greater. b To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy, and noble men; c famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐπὶ ἀσπι ἀνεπιλεπτόν, whom no man could justly charge of misdemeanour. Nay men, whose behaviour was intolerable, d ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς παύμα-ιν ἀνεκτοῖ ὄντες, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Arcopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions. ἐκέναν τις τῷ φούρει χεῖρ, changed their natures, and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. e *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of f *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one, besides the Nobility most wise and rich. πλὴν ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλεῖστον καὶ βίῳ σώφρονι διαφεινόντων. By which words he seemes to ayme at the nine *Achontes*, g who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society. For which election annuall, the number was doubtful. For some might dye in that space; or all live, and in the next yeare be encreased. Volatteran out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*; that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, Proconsul of Greece & *Arcopagite*, the Councell of *Arcopagus* consisting of three hundred; and the people of *Athens* let up this monument for a testimoniall of his good will and benevolence. But that might only happen when this was erected. h They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μὴ τις με-γάλος ἥμῳτε, unlesse for some grand offence. i *Bozsius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Athenienses olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdom, and to them it is bent what the Apostle saies, *The Greeks seek after Wisdom*. Neverthelesse their *Arcopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priests, and the High Priest

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For k they were overseers of all, l Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chyrurgeon & make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him who they hated upon an action of battery, as *Mantithem* against *Beotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impositors, if the party died they tooke their doses. a They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statues. c In a word all great delinquencies came under their censures. They enquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in d *Xenophon* that they sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. *Αναγὰς πο-λύων αὐτὸν ἦν Ἀρειοπαριτῶν*, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*, e *Valerius Maximus*. Est & ejusdem urbis f sanctissimum conciliū *Arcopagus* &c. There is likewise in that Citty the most sacred Councell *Arcopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himselfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. g The Greek authot tells us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seemes otherwise. For if any one say, quoth h *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the councell of the *Arcopagites*; he may as well say that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, i by the advise of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. k And when their publique treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advise, when l they had wonne the day, was a cause, saies l *Aristotle*, συν-νωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν to give strength and sinewes to the

m Iocrates
Areop. p. 132.

n Laert. lib. 2.
in Aristippo.
p. 154.

a Simeon
metaphrast.

b Pollux, l. 8

c Hermotim.
p. 505.

d Pollux pag.
405

e Vide Ulp.
in Demost.
pag. 39.

Common wealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of Athens. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children; not observed by our Countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*: youth and heat of blood, unsteadnesse in judgement, rashnesse in adventures, & pronenesse to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender yeares to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of religion, & divulging mysteries, as when *n Euryclides* the Hierophanta in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, *Τίς εἰν ὁ ἀνέστης ἀπὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου*; who offended against the mysteries? *Οἱ τοῖς ἀμύστοις αὐτὰ ἐκφράζοντες*, replied; such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious: For which crime had not *Demetrius Phalerens* befriended him, the Hierophanta was in danger, *εἰς Ἀφείον ἀναχθῆναι πάλιν*, to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority *S. Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the Athenians were under the Romans, yet their Lords made them *αὐτοκόμους*, *sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the appellant brought his inditement to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the crown, which he was wont to weare, sate downe as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark; for they judged by night, saies *c Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *d* *ὑπομνησθῆναι* *ἢ* *διπλῆσαι*, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed *e* *μεγαλύνειν*. This *f* *Aristotle*

Stoile calls *ἐξω τῷ ἀπογυμνασίῳ* *λίγην* to speak beside the matter. Before the triall both parties swear (which they stile *g* *ἀπομνηστῆρ*) The appealer standing upon the testes of a Goat, a Ram & a Bull (usuall to the Greeks, as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her and her predestinated husband, *ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερωτῇ καὶ τῷ τριῶν*, and *Hercules* the children of *Helena* *ἐπὶ τριῶν καὶ τριῶν*) to *k* oath, therefore named *ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τριῶν*; in which he maintained that he dealt justly and rightly, & that he was joyed in affinity to the slain man; *k* which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood *ἐπὶ τριῶν*, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himselfe and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no punishment, as among the Romans *i* *juris jurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet*. For swearing is punished by a revenging God, but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian Law*, *Lesae Majestatis*. After this the prisoner swore; which among us will not be allowed. Then setting each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was named *λίθος ὀλέθριος*, the stone of iniquity; the other *Ἀρεοπέδαι*, by *Adrian Junius* thought *Ἀρεοπέδαι* of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the prisoner three questions, which *b* *Æschylus* calls *τεία παρημύματα*. First, whether he were guilty or no, *c* *εἰ κατέκτονες*, to which he answered, *ἐκ τῶν ὀλέθριων* yea or nay: secondly, *ὅπως κατέκτονες* for what reason he did the murder: thirdly, *τίς ἐκ τῶν ἐκδιδόντων*, who were the Abettors. Then arose there certain Lawyers, *ἐξηγηταί*, who shewed whether the murder was committed *d* *ὡς δίκην* in *d* *Æschylus* justice. (e For in Athens there were such Counsellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had resort) By *ὁ δὲ*, *e* *Demost* vid. you must understand those causes, in which *f* *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleannes with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, or any who he

g Pollux loco
laudato Dem.
cont. Aristocr.
p. 413.

h Paulanias
Lacem p. 103.

i Idem Mella.
niacis p. 126.

k Demosth. p.
608 & 416.

These agreed
saies Pollux.
about the pu-

nishment, accor-
ding to the dam-

mage received.
De Acher.

Mag. p. 449.

Lib. 2. C. de
rehabred.

a Paul. Attic p.
27.

b Eumenid. p.
202.

c Ibidem.

d Ibidem.

e Ibidem.

f Ibidem.

g Ibidem.

h Ibidem.

i Ibidem.

k Ibidem.

A Lib. quin

where

& Demosthe- (where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would ne-
nes, Midiana. ver returne) but he did *ἐξέχευε*, in a gentler terme. For it
Hest, in Iliad was a custome of old, to give a certaine summe of mony (the
ἡ ἐδος πρὸ Attick Law *χρήματα ἐμπύα*, in wilfull, all was confiscate) to
λαδὺν ὡς the kindred of the slaine that they might not depart their
ὡς δὲ πρὸς πρ country: but if they could not purchase an abroad they went
ὡς δὲ πρὸς πρ some where else. *m Ovid. Cede puer facta Patroclus Opuntia*
m De Ponto reliquit. Their discountenance was but for one yeare *ἄλλως*
lib. 1. Eleg. 4. *ἢ ἐφύγεν ὁ φονὴς ἢ πρὸς ὅς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέκωσεν*. The mony dis-
m Eustath. But burshed on such occasions was properly called *ποινὴ quasi poi-*
Demosth. *ἡς ὡς αἰσέ* *νῃ*, from *φόνος* murder, as if it were the price of bloud. And
οὐδὲ πρὸς the Scholast of Sophocles tels us that *ποινὴ* is spoken only *ἐπὶ*
ἐν γένει τῷ of payment of mony, but abusively of a-
πρὸς δὲ πρὸς ny punishment. If the party wounded had forgiven the
vntill he ob- offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperat-
tained remissi- ly hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; other-
on from some wise he fled. And in that flight he betook himselfe to some
of the kindred acquaintance, by whom he was clesed from the guilt with
of the slaine. certaine ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call
a Demosthe. *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmeon* purified:
b Eustath. 2. initio.

Grecia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes

Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.

Actoridem Peleus, ipsam quoq; Pelea Phœci

Cede per Æmonias solvit Acastus aquas.

Vecliam frænatæ per inane draconibus Ægeus

Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;

Amphiaraiades Naupacteo Acheloo

Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.

Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cedis

Flumine tolli posse putatis aqua.

Opé In this ceremony they did *ἀΐσαι*, sacrifice, saies *Demosthenes*,

σίου καὶ δα (which custome likewise was observed by the *Træzenians*

αίου &c. in the lustration of *Orestes* from the bloud of his mother;

which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was
done with water, as you may read, take out of the well *Hip-
pocrène*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with
a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose (by the words follow-
ing perswaded to it, which tell us, that when the *καδαίσεις*
were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after
that *καδαίσεις*, *δύου* *ἢ καδαίσεις*. This as I said was in his
flight. *καπὸν δὲ δαὺν ἢ καδαίσεις* *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*. The proceeding
in this Court, was first, *δωροδοκία*, such as before I mentioned;
an oath of each party, accuser & defendant: secondly *λόγος*,
their speeches of both sides: thirdly *γνώσις δικαστῆς*, Judgen-
ment. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly
to have murdered, then had he a time appoynted him; how
long he should flee, as above said, untill he had made peace
and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφίνῳ. Πενταετία, Φεαττοί.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *Ægeus* *Plutarch* 2.
(who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Del-* *pag. 4. l. 19.*
phinius and *Diana Delphinia*,^a where was the Tribunall na- *a Schol. Arist.*
med ἐν Δελφίνῳ, or *ἐπὶ Δελφίνῳ δικαστήριον*. *In this Judicatory *pag. 333.*
were heard cases of murder, when the party confessed the *Ælian. Var.*
fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. ^b For the Law re- *1. 5. c. 15.*
quired no punishment of any man that should kill another *Demosth.*
taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or unclean- *contra Arist.*
nesse with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free *pag. 410. 411.*
Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or own
defence he spilt bloud it was not capitall. The first that was
arraigned here was *Thesem*, maintaining the right he had to
slay the Theeves, saies *c Pollux*, (I know not whether he *Lib. 8. pag.*
mean *Sciron* and *Procrustes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his chil- *d Pausan. Ar.*
dren, who were rebels. Before this tryall of *Thesem*, who *P. 27. c. 1. q. 0.*

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying dye, were the cause never so just. *Ἐν Πειραιῶν*. Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like, fall on a man, & kill him, if the party that slung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *φουλοβασίλεις*, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which *Æschines* alludes. *Τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἀπόνειμα καὶ σιδηρὸν καὶ ἄφροντα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ἔαν τινα ἐμπρόσθεντα ἀποκρίνῃ ὑποκρίσιντι*. The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call *Βυρόν*, had slain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Eteobæus*. *Ἐν φρεατρίῳ*. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name *φρεατρίς*, from *Phreutis* an *Hera*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *Pollux* names it *ἐν φρεάτι*. Heare they were judged who having fled out of an other country for unwillfull murder not acquitting him, if in the space of his exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled in *φρεατρίῳ*, in a place seaten on the Sea, *καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅπου ἐπὶ θαλάτῃσιν, ὅπου ἡ γαίη ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὕδατος*, where the guilty drawing neare in a boat or bark was to make his apology, *ὅς γ' οὐκ ἐχέει ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὕδατος*, not coming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former *πᾶσι δ' ἐπιπρότερον φόνος φονὴν καὶ ἄλλα*. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryall, he was exposed to the cruell mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seeme contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Tenetus*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*; a whom trecherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*. drove out of *Salamis*.

¶ Pollux loco citato.
¶ Cont. ra. Ctesiph. p. 103

h Lib. octav. 406.
¶ Demosth. contra Aristocr. 415.

¶ Demost. ib.
¶ Rodolphus Galterus, one of Pollux interpreters.
¶ Scalum terræ insicentem; putting downe a ladder; the Greeks ὑποβάθραν.
¶ Demosthenes.
¶ Dicitis cretensis de bello Troiano. l. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to *Ἀριστοτέλῃ* *ὅτι ποῦς φάγουσι φόνον, ἐπὶ καὶ δὲ ἐπὶ φόνον, ὅς Ἀθῶναι λέγει καὶ τὸ ἐν φρεατρίῳ δικάσιμον*. Judicatories concerning men flying for murder, that care for their bringing back againe, such as in *Athens*, *τὸ ἐν φρεατρίῳ*. When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυσον. Τελωνιον. Βατραχίον. Φοινικίον. Τὸ δὲ Λύκον. Μνήχον δικάσιμον. Ἐν Ἀρδῆτι. Διατητῆ.

Besides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there were for civill matters these, *Heliaa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. *Παράβυσον*. Of this name there are two, *παράβυσον μέζον καὶ μέσον*, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters saies *Petit* that exceeded not one drachme, to which *Ἀριστοτέλῃ* might be thought to look speaking of Judicatories, *ὅτι καὶ μικρῶν σωμαλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμῶντα &c.* And this was the meaning of *Παυσανίῃ*, *Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις σωμαίωντων ἐπὶ αὐτῷ*. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court, which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the *δέκα δικάσιμα*. It stood *ἐν ἀφανεί πύλῃ*, in an obscure place of the city, whence *Ἐν ᾧ δαβύσῳ*, in *Demosthenes*, is by *Vlpius* expounded, privily, by a Metaphor taken frō the situation of the Judicatory, or, *ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφανείας, καὶ χρύφα τῆς φανερῆς*, from goods secretly hidden. *Ἐν ᾧ δαβύσῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ λαδρεῖν*. *Τελωνιον*, from the forme of it, which seems to have been triangular. *Βατραχίον*, and *Φοινικίον*, from the colours that were painted *ἐπὶ τῷ πύλῳ σφηνίσκῳ ᾧ εἰσόδῳ* upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staffe given to the Judges, that they

Politicon 4. c. 17.

Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

Attic. lib. 27. l. 13.

Pausanias ibidem.

¶ Pag. 450.

Ἀριστοτέλης Athen. Rep. apud Arist.

Sch. pag. 31.

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staffe. Τὸ ἐν Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* on *Heras*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf; where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every court; hence ἡ Λύκος δέκα, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants and such

^b Zenobius.

as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busy there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, ἀπὸ λαὶ ὃ συνήσαν δι σιωπῆ καὶ ζῶντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand ^a πάλαι ὃ συνήσαν δι σιωπῆ καὶ ζῶντες τὰ δικαστήρια) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἐν δὲ δὴ δωροδοκῶντες καὶ συκοφαντοῦ καὶ δέκα γυγνόμενοι σιωπῆ φέρωντο. The ^b Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each, a day. ^c Μνήχῃ δικαστήριον. This

^a Lib. octavo p. 406. The place is extremely corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greek.

^b Vesp. p. 457
^c *Pollux* lib. 8.

was a great Judicatory; so named from *Melichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well & Nobly descended & owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted. ἐν Ἀρδῆτιῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did ^d *Meursius*

^d *Athen. Ar.* 1. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

^e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

think otherwise, when he translated these words of ^e *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδῆτιῳ δικαστήριον, apud tribunal *Ardeum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ἄμυνον ἐν Ἀρδῆτιῳ δικαστήρια. The Judicatories

were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardeum*. *Ardeum* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardeus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition & mutinie, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presētly after their election) to give sentence according to the Lawes; and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, & by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardeum*, & ἐν τῷ

^f Ἀπόλλω Πατριῳ, καὶ Διὶ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἑρμῇ βασιλεῖ. Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῷ ἐν τῷ ἄμυνον δι δικαστῶν δικαστῶν δέκον. The Judges in this place took their oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called ^h *Ardeni*, proverbially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. καὶ Ἀρδῆτις ἰμάρκας. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number, tenne. For *Murher*, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreatys*. For other matters *Heliea*, *Trigouan*, *Parabysium* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichis forum*, & ad *Lycum*, where the *Δικασταὶ* were wont to sit, saies ^k *Possardus*; of whom, because ^l *Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen ^m forty four men, ⁿ above threescore yeares old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the privileges of an Athenian Citizen. ^o In former time there came no controversy into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it succeeded tenne dracmes; Although ^p *Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seemes to be, ἅ ἐν ἱερῇ, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. What ever the *δικασταὶ* κληρωτοὶ judged, if the plaintiff and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the ^q Argument of *Demosth. Orat. q* contra *Callippum*; & ^r *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintiff by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. ^s When they were appointed for the hearing of a case they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrot the accusation, with the fine which

^h Casaub.

ⁱ Theoph.

^j Char. p. 178.

^k Etym. Mag.

^l loco laudato.

^m De Mag.

ⁿ Athen. p. 540.

^o Discip.

^p Reip. Ath. p. 41.

^q Ulpian in

^r Dem. p. 342.

^s Pollux l. 8.

^t p. 407.

^u Pollux ib.

^v Demosthe-

^w nem loco ci-

^x tato.

^y 407.

^z 407.

^{aa} 407.

^{ab} 407.

^{ac} 407.

^{ad} 407.

^{ae} 407.

^{af} 407.

^{ag} 407.

^{ah} 407.

^{ai} 407.

^{aj} 407.

^{ak} 407.

^{al} 407.

^{am} 407.

^{an} 407.

^{ao} 407.

which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the plaintiff one drachme, which they called *διδραμον*, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annuall; And because would pervert justice, (as *Demosthenes* is witnesse, * although they were not to judge before they had sworne) give sentence according to favour, envy, or for gaine, therefore * at the years end they made an account of their function upon the last day of *ῥ Thargilion*, on which it was lawfull for any to speake what he could object against them; & if any were faulty, they were *ἔτιμοι*. Thus much of the *Διαίτηται* κληρωτοί. There were other *Διαίτηται* likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromissarii*: & we in english *Arbitrators*: whom two parties choose with resolution to stand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controversy whatsoever such by the *Attick* Law any might request, but with necessity of abiding at their judgement. For they could not appeal from them to any other court. To referre matters to their arbitrement the Greekes terme *ἐπιτρέψαν διαταγαν*. and it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had chosen arbitrator in a difference, after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence untill at last he died. Whence grew to a proverb, *ἂ Βύνες δικάζει*, *Bunas* judicat; *Bunas* judgeth, of those that defer to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspence.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

Having thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I speak of the Termes of lawe, Writts, Accusations. These were of two sorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed *κατηγορίαι*, saies *Emmianus*. Of

κατηγοριῶν, there were divers sorts. *Γραφή, φάσις, ἐνδείξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀρήρησις, αἰσχυρηγία, ἐισαγγελία*. *Γραφή* saies *Vlpian*, is *ὅτι ᾧ παρανόμων*, of any trespasse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; & most properly, quoth he, else where, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a *Writ* or *Right*, in Latine *Actio* or *Formulæ*, as in *Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a writ. *φάσις* is a kinde of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or, Customs houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans owne use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in witing, with the names of the accuser & accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the informer had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was to lay downe the sixt part of the fine; which the Orators call *ἐπὶ πωβελίαν*, from *ὀβολός*, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusatiō, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In generall, all discoveries of private injuries are called *φάσεις*, which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romanes allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores* but among the *Athenians* not so, if *Pollux* say right. *ἥ τ' ἰδὺν πρὸς ἐξίγνετο ἢ δ' ἀδικησάντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτρίαν αὐτῶν φαίνειν*. The amercement fell to the persō injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voyces: he payd two hundred and one Drachme; if it exceded; a thousand, foure hundred and one. *ἐνδείξις* is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to beare office, saies *Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly so bidden. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amis in publique affaires; & the Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, *ὅτι ᾧ ἀπίμων*

S

for

c In Demost. pro Corona. p. 159.

d Orat. contra Lept. p. 296.

e Sir T. Smith Com. Wealth of Engl. l. 2. c. 10.

f In Vitelio.

g Pollux l. 8. p. 387.

h Demosten. cont. Caricl. p. 699. n. 6.

cont. Everg. & Mnesib. p. 646. n. 90.

cont. Steph. d. d. A. p. 622. n. 9. con. tra Onetora. Eξουλ. β. p. 528. n. 19.

cont: Aphob. β. p. 508. n. 97.

i Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.

k In Demost. p. 391.

l In Equit. p. 303.

m Pag. 469.

n Orom. lib.
8. p. 388.

In Stelit. r.

Sir T. Smith
Commonw :
of Engl. l. 2.
c. 26. p. 281.
1 Loco. laud.

r Vlp. in Dem.
p. 389.
f Idem p. 407

1 Dem. p. 416

for men disfranchised. But ⁿ Pollux teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner; which the *Greekes* terme *ἐπαυτοφώρῳ* o Schol. *Nazianz*, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, Pollux expresses by *ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικήματα*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then frō their owne mouthes. By which acknowledgement of their guiltinesse, without greater triall, they received their doome P as among us whē a prisoner arraigned, confesses his indictment to be true, noe twelve men goe upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our proverb, *Confesse and be Danged* 1 Pollux *ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικήματα*, ἐκρίσας, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δεομεν. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, γρ' if he were false, he might be liable to the writ, *ἡ δ' ἔστι ἐν δέξιξις*. The declaratiō was against men who were not present. *Ἀπαγωγῇ*, is a carrying of a mā before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whō otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this *ἀπαγωγῇ*, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *Thesmothete*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a mā had found out any indebted to the publique treasury, or bound for those places or countries where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murder, if by reason of weaknes he durst not venture to apprehend the person, & *ἀπείγειν*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme *ἀφηγείναι*. *Ἀνδραγήψιον*, is when a fellow hath committed murder, & flies for succour to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the slaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to the & the protector would not, it was lawfull to enter into his house & carry away any three persons, as some translate it, or.

of all save three *ἀγχι τεῖων*, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly was not to escape unpunished. *Ἐισαγγελία*, saies * Vlpian, is accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as* else- where he speakes of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Oratour had spoken what was not for the benefice of the weale publique; if any went to wars before they were sent, or betrayed a Garison, Army or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages he was fined a thousand drachmes, & lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrollable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a law enacted, that whosoever accused by *Ἐισαγγελία*, & had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This *Ἐισαγγελία* contained no written crimes but was only by bare word of mouth; & as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called *Ἐισαγγελτικὴς*. The Senate was Judge, (Pollux saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalereus* 1500. Where the interpreter erres. For *πεντακῶσις* is 500 to them, as *ἡ τι πρὸς*, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions; private were these that follow, more properly calid *δίκαι*.

Αἰκίας δ' is an action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which they *Greekes* call *ἀρξαι πλὴν γῶν ἀδίκων*. 2 The matter was heard before the Judges; and though the Law ordained not any set some of money for damages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write downe what he thought fitting. 3 The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seeke to revenge himselfe with stones or any other hurt full weapon.

* Idem cont.
Arist. p. 415.
* In Dem. p.
58.
* Eund. p.
453.

Dem. p. 410.
vide Vlp. ibid
& Arg. Orat.
cont. Everg.
p. 637.
2 Sch. Arist.
Conc. p. 745.
3 Dem. cont.
Con. p. 6908

Idem ibid. *ἡ κακηγορίας* Ἀ. Some what neere our proviso of giving the lye, least by taunting & reprochfull words, men be provoked to blowes. *Βάβης* Ἀ. Is when any man receives damage and hurt in estate by another man. ^cAs to turne water into his ground, by which it is anoyed; ^dto refuse to pay money where it is required, or to give it to an other. ^eto promise to beare witnes in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case falls, & the like. *Περχαπαθήκης* Ἀ. About pawnes, I suppose, which men that needed mony mere wont to leave with the userers, ^f as clothes housholdstufte, &c. Or about money put to the banck, which exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *Demosthenes*. The word importes both. *Ἀποπομπής* Ἀ. Of divorce. ^hfor they were wont to put a way their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called *ἀποπομπή*, & as *Lysias* *ἀπόπεμψιν* on the husbands side, and on the wives *ἀπόλειψιν*; for he did as it were turne her away, she was said to forsake him. *Κακώσεως* Ἀ. Of ill usage of parents, as not relieving them if they were poore. Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors. *κλοπής* of theft, after what manner soever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night was deadly. *Χρέως* Ἀ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by ⁱLaw provided in *Athens* that none should take too much use, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the best of his money: which he termes *κράσιμον ἀργυρίου*. Of usury I shall speake more in Chap. of mony. *Συμβολαίων* Ἀ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it, ^l*Aristotle*. *δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρὸ συμβολαίων*. *Σωθῆκης περὶ βλάβης* Ἀ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about deviding of inheritance betweene man & man; or betweene Citty & Citty, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Arist. Pol. 3. c. 6.* or the like. ^mThese *σωθῆκαι* were usually confirmed by oath to each other. *Διαδικασίας* Ἀ. A contention.

c Arg. Orat.

Dem. contra

Calliclem.

d Dem. cont:

Callip: p:

680. n: 20.

e Dem. cont.

Tim. p. 659.

n. 25.

f Sch: Aristo:

137. E.

g Cont: Phor:

p: 555. n. 7. 8.

h Vide Cuiacium.

Observ:

1: 6: c: 15.

i This is rec-

koned among

the Lawes;

which were

made for pri-

vate men. Vlp

in Dem: p:

481.

k Vi Casub:

in Theoph.

p: 191. Char:

πρὸς ἀπονομίας

/ Polit: 1: 2: c: 3

m Dem: p: 651

n: 13.

n Ulp: in Dem

p: 62. & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they seeke to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. *ἑπιδικασίας* Ἀ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other to make it appeare who was nearest joyning in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a Virgin to whom an inheritance falls, is called *ἑπιδίκαστος*, that is *Contro- o Pollux 1: 3. versa*. *Μισθώσεως δίκης* Ἀ. About letting of houses. (For *Herodotus* termes that *ἐμισθόναι*, which other Greeke writers *μισθῶσαι*, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, *ἀμισθῶν* & *ἐπιμισθῶν*, to let out. Which they ofetē did for want of mony which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use doe, *This House is to be let.* which custome *Menodemus* in *P Terence* expressees --- *Inscrpsi ilico, AEDS MERCEDE*.) This Writ was properly against ^pHeut: Act: Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediately is before spokē) who having takē the charge upon thē of Tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made knowne to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upō some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearely rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remaine void of a Tenant, to he losse of the Pupill, then was it lawfull for any mā to sue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court Upon a writ of *Μισθώσεως δίκη*. *ἑπιδίκης*. I have observed it to have beene a custome among the Anciens, when they perceived themselves to draw neere to death, to call for some one to whose care they would cōmit thier children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender ey over thē & to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as *Odipus* in *Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in the behalfe of his daughters - *ὦ φίλον κῆρα. Δός μοι χεῖρὸς σῆς πρὸς τὰς κόρας ἀρχαίαν τέκνοισι, ὅπως τε παῖδες τῶδε καὶ καταίνεσθαι μήποτε πρὸς δώσειν τὰς δ' ἐκὼν, τελεῖν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλῃης φρονῶν δ' ἔξυμψέ- r Ter: Andr: ρον τ' αὐτὰς αἰεί.* Not unlike is that of the *Comædian* under Act: 1. Sc: 5: the.

142 *Archæologia Attica. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.*
the person of Chrysis, committing Glycerium to the Tuition
of Pamphylus.

Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit.
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atq; etatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quam illi nunc utraq; inuiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingeniam tuam,
Per tuam fidem, perq; hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor, ne abs te hanc segreget, non deferas.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maximi,
Sen tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continuo ipsam occupat.

But among the Athenians the use was to nominate in their
Testaments and last wills, whom they would have to be
Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they
should defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part
thereof, they were sued with a Writ *ἐπιτροπῆς*, as *Demosthe-*
nes did sue his as soone as he came to age. But if the matter
were not questioned within five years after the pupil was
admitted among the number of men, by the Law the Guar-
dian could not be taxed. *Ἀπογραψίς*, Of a Master against a
servant ingratefull for his manumission, not doing his duty
to his Master. Because, as *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the
nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingrateful
but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who
had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted there-
fore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should a-
gain be made a bondslave. * *Valerius Maximus*. Age, quid il-
lud Institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? Quod convictus
a patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis eximitur. The Ro-
mans did not onely acquit them of the liberty of the Citie,
(which

(which the Athenians gave not) but made them also slaves, & Justin. Inst.
wh ich punishment they terme * *Maximam capitis diminutio* l. 1. T. 16.
nem. Σίτς. If any man put away his Wife he was to restore
her portion againe; if he refused he was ἐπ' ἐννε' ὀβολοῖς
ποροφείν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine o-
boli, which the Atticks terme γ εισόδορ ποροφείν, the renew of y Demost. p.
her Dowry. The Writ whereby he was sued was Σίτς δίκη 733.
for the repayment. 2' ἐνοικίς, If any went to Law, as clay- 2 Dem. pag.
ming title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled 655. n. 58.
in it with a Writ ἐνοικίς, by which he demāds his rent for the
time the defendant had the house: if it were for any parcell
of land, there was a Writ καρπῦ given out, for the provent &
fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they procee-
ded to an εἰσίας δίκη, in which they claimed right & title to
the house or land. Although in all these trials the defendant
were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but
if in a 3^d triall, which they call ἔξελις, he were overthrown,
he was compelled to relinquish his possessiō. This ἔξελις al-
so is a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out
of his house, it being termed frō ἔξελειν, to throw forth. 2 It
is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the a Vlp. in dem.
Court, & fined a thousand drachmes, which at such a day he p. 340.
was to pay; & if he laid it not downe upon the naile, there
went forth a Writ ἔξελις, to make enter upon the lands and
possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who
will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the pub-
like to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any
thing frō the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. 2 Εἰς
δατητῶν αἰρεσιν, when two had bin partners in estates, & one of
them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he
might be restrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσις. Because the
Market place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat &
gosen in, as b *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the Athe- b Apud Laerj.
nians enacted that none should buy in the market place; (to p. 74.
which the Scythian wise man poynted likewise, saying, that
they

they forbad to speake false, & yet did ἐν τῇ καμπύλει. If d. & (3) if any man had bargained for any thing, & another sued c. Pollux l. 8. and doubted of the right of it, c. he might require the seller c. 6. p. 385. to confirme the lawfulnessse of the thing sold, and maintain it against all controversy, otherwise the seller was liable to βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in Athens they bought for the most part Græcâ fide with redy mony, as d. Scaliger & c. Ca- Lect. l. 2. c. 6. fandon truly interpret it, f. Turnebus, Representatâ pecuniâ: yet e In Theoph. sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, Char. p. 312. which the Greekes and Latins call εἰσφορά, from the h He- f Adversario- rum l. 4. c. 13. brew γῆ. This seemes to me to have been the hundreth part g Don. Quod of mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as prius datur, i Stobæus out of Theophrastus. Where you may read likewise ut reliquum reddatur. in that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to Ter. Heaut. bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies Act. 3. Sc. 3. before. εἰς ἐμφανῶν καλῶσαι, For the laying open of any h Vide Dacq. thing, concerning which was a suit in law, by k Pollux his in Basil. Sel. words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken away i Sermone 42 k Onomast l. 8. c. 6. p. 384. When any should offer to take another mans servant and make him free against the will of the Master, v Demost. p. which the Greekes terme ἡ μὴ δίκαιος ἐλδοσεῖαν ἀφελῆς. 718. n. 29. Amphiβλήσις is a suit about neerenesse of blood, in matter of m Pand. Prio. inheritance, when a mā dies without issue of his owne body. p. 100. n Dem. p. 620. Παρηγορητική, When a man went to prove that he was to n: 78. challenge the inheritance of right, as neere of blood; or upō Here follow- some other conditions: from παρκαταβαλλειν; because he laid eth the termes downe the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were promiscuous, cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, saies private and m Budæus: but if publique, the fift. n Διαρρητική. When publique, any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in contro- versie, & is ἐπίδικος, as a true heire being still alive, of which which are pub- thing chiefly treats the Oration of Demosthenes against Leo- full for any to Polux, pag. chares. ἐπισκήψις When any shall try to falsifie the διαρρη- prosecute: see 386. πεία. Ανίστησις. When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

Απεκρίσι.

Ἄποστολοι δ, All strangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy Schoole- master the glory of his time (o) Mr Mathew Buss hath obser- ved, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold o in Epist. and put into the Citty Treasury. Ἀχαιείας of ingratitude a- Dedic. suo Euchaitemsi præsixa ad Richar. Can- tuariensem. against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. Ζηνίας the same with ἀποστάσιον, when any will reckon himselfe among the num- Archiepisco- pum. ber of Cittizens who had never been made free, by which he purchased imprisonment untill such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witnessse of a matter. Ἐκκλησία, When another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομαρτυρία false witnessse, which to prosecute in Law they terme ἐπισκήψασις ψευδομαρτυρίον. Λειπωμαρτύριον, when one was eye- witnessse & promised to testify, yet would not appear at the appointed time; which they were wont to compell them to doe, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citation the par- ty was to be at court, or forswear that he saw not the mat- ter, or was not present; otherwise he was to pay a thousand Drachmes, in which summe to be fined the Atticke Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητεύεσθαι. Δώρων γερή, When the Judges were corrupted with bribes. Δεισμοῦ against those that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idle- nesse, which once taken Draco punished the elinquent with losse of the Citty priviledges, Solon not unlesse he were thrice delinquent. Λειποναυτίς, When any of the marriners ran away from their ships. Αναυμαχίου, When the Marri- ners that staid in the ships would not fight, if occasion re- quired. Ψευδολογία when any would falsely accuse, there was likewise against them a writ ἐμβολεύειν. Ψευδο- κλητείας Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωρο- ξενίας when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Cittizens, and gives gifts to escape free. Παρηγομένων when any

T

any was accused of making a decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusatio was called *ἑρωμασία*; because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common wealth. *δοκιμασία*, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and incontineny, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not suffered to plead, or speake publikely. *Εἰσυνη*, An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ *ἀλογίᾳ λόγον δίδουσι*, Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the judges. *Πεσβολή*, an accusation against those who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are wellwillers to the state. *Πεσβολαί* likewise are accusations against men injurious, *ἐξυβείσανται*, & such as are delinquent against their festivalls, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. *Περικυρία*, An oath which the accuser tooke that he would justly accuse. (q) *Ἀποκυσία*, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. *Ἐξωκυσία*, an oath of Ambassadors, or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the businesse. *Ἀποκυσία*, When others shall swear that pretended weaknesse was only a shift to put off the burthen of publique office which the state laid on them. *Ἵπαμοσία*, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the mover, as above said. *Παραγρησθῆναι*, & *παρεσθῆναι*, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly that the writ ought to be such, & such, and not as it is. *ex. gr.* for a man that runnes away from the Army, which is *ἀπαρρησθῆναι*, and I accuse him of

a Lib. Arg. in
Midianam.

q Vlpian in
Dem. 226.

of leaving his rank, to wit *ἀπαρρησθῆναι*, or objection of the time past within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilfull murder in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed *ἀγρησθῆναι*. *Ἀνπηγασθῆναι*, when he that is sued puts in a bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call *ἀνπηγασθῆναι* so) were cast, he payed *ἐπωβελίαν*. *Ἑμὴ ἔσται*, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri a controversy, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in *ἐρήμῃ*, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within tenne daies to sue out *μὴ ἔσται*, wherein he reproved the sentence, and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state againe. But if he could not obtaine a *μὴ ἔσται*, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay a thousand drachmes (as *Ἰν Dem. p. 340.* *πῖαν*) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security. *Ἀνπλαγχάνειν δίκην*, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicio*, and if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is *ἀνπλαγχάνειν δίκην*) he was sure to pay the fine. *Ἐνεπιστήφασθαι*, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publicly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they terme *ἐνεπίστημμα*. *Πρόσκλησις*, is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warne the defendant *ἡ ἐπιδικασμένη*, the suit died, and such actions are called *ἁπορρησθῆναι δίκην*. (t) *ἰσθῆναι*, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath, confession extorted by torments, and the like. *Ἐφεσις*, is an appeal from one court to the

Vlpian in
Dem. 334.

In Dem. p.
340.

Dem p. 623

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adversary did ἀγγράφειν, write downe at the lower end of his inditement: of which custome somewhat hath before been spoken. Βολίται δίκην, Against such as stole Oxe dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the court for triviall matters the proverb (u) Βολίται δίκην. Ἀστ. βεβήκει of impiety against their gods, as Aristotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Achæneses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as on the contrary the accuser if he got not the better. Πιστοσύνας, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * Ἀγροφίς, If any owed to the Citty Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγροφίς, but if his name were never entred, he vvas prosecuted by an ἐν. δίκῃς. Μεταλλικὴ proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devon-shire* her sister. (x) Lyable to this Court vvere they vvho should thrust any man from his vvork, who should dig vvithin another mā's liberties, vvho should bring vvweapons thither, I suppose to take avway Mineralls by violence, vvho should kindle any fire in the Mines &c. Who should offer to take avway the props that upheld the vvweight of the incumbent earth, vvwhich to doe vvvas death, as (y) *Plutarch* tells us. There vvvas likewise ἀγροφίς κατὰ δίκην against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intēded to begin a new vvwork were to acquaint the overseers apointed for that end by the people, that the foure and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publike Treasury. Now if any presumed

u Aristoph.
Sch. p. 3. 28.
Laertius in
vita.

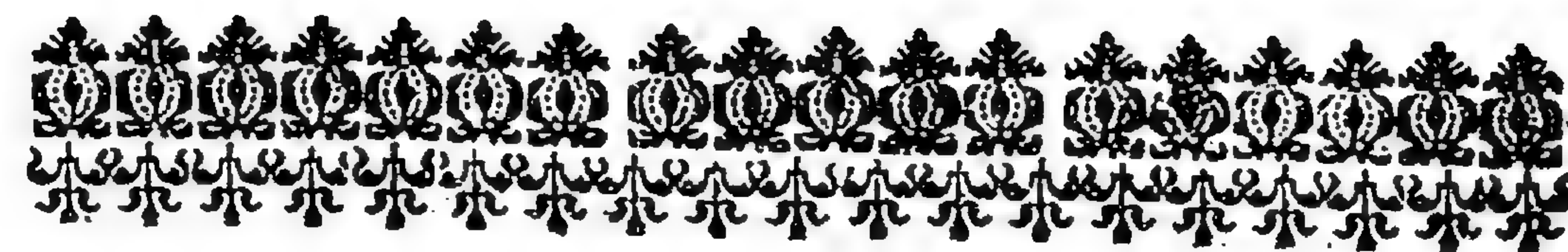
* Dem. cont.
Theocr. pag.
7. 13. n. 76.
77.

x Dem. con.
Pantæ. p.
567. n. 51. 52.

y In vitis De-
cem. Rhet. p.
453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuse him ἀγροφίς κατὰ δίκην. Αγοροφίς δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. (z) For ἀγοροφίς Argum. among the *Atticks* is the same that ἐν δίκῃ in the Lawyers of Phorm. Orat. latter time, in *Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀγοροφίς for meanes, and sustenance (a) ἀγοροφίς εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Κα. a Sch. Eurip. παδικίας & καταδικασάμενον & have this difference, that (b) καταδικασίας is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος & is he b Med. p. 368. that put in the controversy, to be the meanes that the sen. c Idem in tence past against the defendant. (c) Ἀρεσις is when a man Dem. p. 450. deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all and therefore desires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

LIB.





LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amatoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere, & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens*, had their habitation too neare the Sea, to keep their affections farre from her that rose of the *Foame*. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of *ἐπίερα* will sufficiently testify. One of those Temples was for *Venus* ^a *Ποικίλη* (a *si diis placet*) a name better becomeing one of the Muses, ^b or the play with the ball, then her: and the other, for *Venus* *Παιδνιος*. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning *Κάλλε* *ἑρμῆιον*, & *Κάλλε* *παιδνιον*. Δύο γὰρ ἐστὶ νομίζω καὶ ἀνθρώποις κάλλη παιδνία, τὸ μὲν ἑρμῆιον, τὸ δὲ παιδνιον, ὡς περὶ τῶν κάλλεος αἱ χρηστοὶ δεῖσι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἑρμῆιον ἀχρεῖται πρὸς τὴν κάλλεος δεξιάν, καὶ ζῆτι ὡς ἑρμῆιον ταχὺ φέρεται. Τὸ δὲ παιδνιον ἐρίεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐγχερόμεν πρὸς τοῖς σφύραισι. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop, such as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But, a *diverticulo*. The Sacrifices of the first Temple, were *Ἀγνόπερα*, with a little more state, and chastity then became her; but those

those of the last, *ῥαθυρότερα*, as *easy*, and as wicked as herselfe: For every farthing-strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the *Κεραϊκός*,^c or the *Σκίρον*, (those *Κεραϊκός* *Ἀπό*-c *Pausanias*, *ἵστει*) or any other or the places abused to lust. Nay those *ῥαθυρότερα*^d besides places for the purpose, they had garments also for the purpose, and flowers on the Garments too, *ῥαθυρότερα*^d *ἑρμῆιον*, *ῥαθυρότερα* *vestes*, apparell fit for such *flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received from the *Phenicians*, the *Phenicians* frō the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* (e) *sit*.^e *Cacl. Rhod.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians*. (viz.) with a head, and all like a man as farre downe as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman: (to shew she had a place in the *Ditches* (f) too as well as in the *Sinkes*, and *pa-*^f *troniz'd* lust to either of the Sexes,) Insomuch, that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum*,^f *Juven. Sat. 2.* or *Deam*: for there is one that saies

———— *Pollentemq, Deum venerem*. Which *Macrobius* himselfe commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgill*. *Æn. 2. v. 632.* reads

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes

Expeditur — and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her *Ἀρρόδιον*, in the *masculine* gender. But, now this makes more worke, & therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plaistering) they made it a custome, *ei sacrificiū *facere viros cū veste muliebri, Mulieres cū virili. Quod eadē & Mas. & *Philochorus, Fœmina estimaretur, for the men to Sacrifice to her in womens* cited by *Macro-* apparell & women in mens. If it be so, you may say *Aphro. bius* *ditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: only the (g) Poet (because she ^g *Aristophanes* was such a *Virago*) honours the Man-hood of the Goddesse, *Ἀ. 5. se. 2.* with *ἀνδρῶν*, as *Theocritus* (h) does *Hecate*, with *ἀνδρῶν* *τελειῶν* *h* in *εἰς ἀνδρῶν*; an appellative of the *masculine* gender: Nor is it enough, *εἰς ἀνδρῶν*^h that the Mother is thus religiously woo'd, and adored: but the

^a *Pausanias*.^b *ἐρμῆιον*, a play so called.

the blind *pauntry* Boy will be crying for a Temple too. And if Her due be a Cow, certainly His cannot be lesse then a *Calfe*, neither was it.

ῥέτω πορνὴ ἔστιν ἡ αὐτὴ βῆν Ἀφροδίτῃ.
saies *Theocritus*: and *Amor* *Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinks he might have been content to sit still in his *Mother's Temple* (where hee was lovely *Pourtraicted* by *Zeuxes* and crown'd with flowers) and have soard * with his wings no higher. But the Temples of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Πιδυρῶ, doe more then whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous this People has been.

* *Alatus*.

CAP. II.

De Pederastia.

i *Epist. Rom. c.*
1. v. 26.
k *Ibid. v. 27.*

TO omit the *Τειβάδας*, and the Abomination of the *Women* one vvith another changing *τὴν φύσιν* i *ἡ φύσις*, i *ἡ φύσις* τὴν φύσιν, the naturall use into that which is against nature; give me leave to speak a little of their *Παιδεργαί*, or *παιδοποι*, and the Ἀχαιοὶ, k practised by the *Men* upon their *ovv* Sexe. The first that ever taught

— *Amore* —

In teneros transerre mares. —

(if vve may believe *Ovid*) vvas *Orpheus*. How good a Scholer of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis* & *Tonsoribus* notum. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Persians* deriv'd the infection from them; vvhich I am apt enough to believe, vvhen I read those vvords of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, & those concerning *Alcibiades* in another *Ineunte adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himsele aftervvard vvas more then *Patrius* in that double-Cappa-rongery as vvell as *Pausanias* or *Socrates*; or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Cretians* (vvhatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a lavv for a toleration of it. The *Megarenses* had

i *Initio lib. de*
Excell. Imp.
m *Æmil. Prob.*
* *Plato in Symp.*
n *Socratici*
r *ivv* *St.*
o *Athenæus.*

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kisse sweetest was led away in pompe *Corollis onustus*. only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians*, & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay *Ἄλιαν* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in severall relations) goes farther, and saies, Σπάρτης δ' ἔρως Ἀισχρόν ἐκ ὅδου. but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their *παιδοποι* and οἱ Παιδοὶ ὕμνοι tell in plain song what they loved: though I confesse, I have found no such feats among them, as that of q *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of *Pyramus* r and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of εἰσπνίης, or εἰσπνίλος, or rather εἰσπνίλης as *Calimachus* hath it.

p *L. 3. Var.*
Hist. c. 12.

q *Lycoph.*

r *Inq. vices*
fuerat capta-
tus anhelans
or.

Μέμβλατο δ' εἰσπνίλης ὁ πόντος Κῆρες ἰοί.

By which word (saith the *Etymologicall Dictionary*) is denoted, ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ ἔρωτι, (or rather ἔρωτι) εἰσπνέουσα. one inspired, shall I say, or *belov'd*, for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (viz.) to love a boy so perdit as to blow in his lower end, (as we say) or spit in his mouth, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Ἀυτοὶ γὰρ διόντ' ἔρωτ' εἰσπνέειν αὐτοῖς. *Λαμδαμωρίων* ὃ ὅτιν ἡρώη, ἔρωτ' εἰν λέγουσα, and so *Hesychius* saies of *ἡρώη* too. εἰσπνέει μὲ, ἔρω μὲ, πιδεῖ μὲ. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it should have beene all: for a man may love his house well enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I must confesse they had so much care still of the *Common-weals*, notwithstanding their private pleasures, as not to give a voyce to one whom they knew to be guilty of so Much *Mollities*, as to scratch his head with one finger. Infomuch that if a man had sued for an Office, to give a testimony of his *virtue*, and Manlike disposition, he was faine to lift up his Armes, and shew his haire in his *Arme-pits*.

— Χερσὶν ἡ τριών.

V

ἔρωμ-

Ἐξαιτίας τὸν ἔπερ βραχίονα. *saies Aristophanes.*
And good reason for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia seta

Promittunt atrocem animum — *saies Persius.*

(f) *Apud Aristoph.* And therefore the Woman (f) that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

—Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχω τὰς μαχάλας

Λοχμῆς δαυοτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the Romans are said to have used (for which service they had their *ἀντακισαίς*, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their haire, and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, as should not indeed be named among us. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in (e) *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexum* *um diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as (u) *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

C A P. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

When they first lifted themselves into the service (for, *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formerly initiated, like so many Priests.

Ἀρ γὰρ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτην μυστηριάζουσιν. *saies Clitophon* to *Leucippe* *τὴν σὴ βόβλη κατεμύθηδω* *ἢ ἔρωτα*, *saies Ismerias*, to his mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Litteris ignorabilibus*, *prænotatos*.

Well it seems *Venus* had her *μυστήρια* too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoined silence, as the others were: yet the greatest part of their tattling was under the Rose.

Conscius

Conscius omnis abest *Nata significat loquuntur*. And therefore (a) *Ovid* before *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer* *ἰδρυγ* for nothing, seeing speaking through the teeth, and whispering through the walls (like *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that *ὑπώροπος* *κοῦν* in *Euripides*, *lib. 4 fab. 4.* *succrotilla vocula. Faminina fabulare succrotilla vocula*, *saies (b) Ovid Met. lib. 4 frb. 4.* *one. παρὰ πηδύμην τὸ πηδύριον χαίροις ὑπὲρ ἑλιδύριον*, *d saies another, (c) Tisinnus. (d) Eustath.* of *Ismene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did, was by stealth, for what are all their pleasures but *furtia*? What is *Cupid* (e) but a *Thiefe*. No wonder then if lovers used to worship the Moon: and the Night be the blind boyes holy-day. (f) *Κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νύξ*, *saies one (like that of the Scholiast upon Theocritus δὲ γὰρ κλεπτομελίοις ἔρωσι Κύπρις, καὶ νυκτὶς)* for the greatest part of their employments were not able to looke upon the Sunne. Yet *Pindar* (as I take it) *saies (e) Theocritus saies he stole honicombs. Id. 20.* the custome was, for the man to worship the Sunne, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the Man's ayme (g) was to have the Sun's help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her (h) children to light. (f) *Eurip.*

Besides these, *Θεὸς ὁ Πᾶν ἑρωτικός* (i) *Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

—*Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς δὶ δὲ δικάζειν*) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they tooke the liberty and loosnesse in such businesses to *swear* and *forswear*, as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught — *Perjuria ridet amantium*. infomuch that *Ἀφροδίτῃ ὄρκον*, a *Love oath*, became but a proverb at last, as being accounted *ἐκ ἐμπολνιμῶν*, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* (in *Epheso*) say truth, *Ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέροις δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίτῃ, καὶ τὸ ἐμπορκεῖν συνηώλυν ἡλκός ἐστι δῖον*, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem Juvener*, the same themselves once: and none can play the (k) *knave* better then an *Abbot* that hath been a *Monk*.

(k) French proverb.

De Amoris Iudiciis.

NOW to know whether such an one were in Love or not, (though they say? *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a feast, they took speciall notice of the untying of his Garland (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take to much upon me to determine so soone of the reason, for *Athenaeus* saies it had been a riddle a thousand yeares before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, *ὁ δὲ τὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν ἐὰν λύνῃ σέβανος, ἔσται χίμαρος*, and he himselfe hath served up no lesse then eight other reasons: but I know never a one better then another to give you a taste. Another signe that they were in Love, was the twinkling of the Eare, whence that of *Sappho* *βομβεῖν τὸ ὅκουρον*, and *Catullus*,
 ———— *Sonnet supre*

Tintinant aures. ———

Catullus, *Tintinant aures.* ——— To know whether the party lov'd did love againe, they took a lease: (whether of Poppie, or what it was I know not) they called it *ἡ ἀγάπη* (*quasi ἀγάπη, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαπᾶσαι τὴν φίλαν*) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumbe of the left hand (as our Children use to doe with us) struck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a sigh: our alas! * *Ὀὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέριον ποτὶ καὸν αὐτὸν ἔκρουεν*, *Thescritus Idyll 3.* So m at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the crosse beame of a Ballance) with a paire of Scales hanging to it. Under the scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brasse, gilded and called by the name of *Μάρης* (n once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέριον ποτε μαρτυρεῖται ἡδονήν, οὐδ' αὖτε
Theocritus Idyll. 3. So m at their Feasts they had a trick, to f2.

Theocritus Idyll 3. So m at their Feasts they had an stick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the crosse beame of a Ballance) with a paire of Scales hanging to it. Under the scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brasse, gilded and called by the name of *Máris* (a once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

phiale

phiale of brasse (*πὺν κόψαβον*) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he list'd, with a sudden turne of the hand (*ἀγκύλω* they call it, and thence *Κοψάβοι ἀγκύλητοι*) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they call'd *λαπῆλω* from *λάπηξ*, the *clat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this so well, as to make his scale sinke, and strike the image hardest on the head (*εἰ μὲν χυθῇ τὸ ἄνθος*, so that some of the Wine leap out upon him saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistresse, and had his *Κοψάβιον* or his Cake (the usuall reward of victory in most of their playes) for his labour. Sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash it was counted as luckie for a Lover, as the *crack of the Lease*. Thus to drinke and play, they called *Κοψαβίζειν* (as *Κοψαβῶ* was the name of the cup, and the play too) and seldome a drinking match without it,

'Eṣā'vau Koṇḍiḍiḥa

• Zugabe von

ἰς ἰσχυράτα.

Saith the Poet: The invention of this barbarous gamboll they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turne it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speake more of *Kοηάβος*, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenens*, *Rhodiginus* and others already. Let it suffice only to have minded you of the folly so usuall among Lovers in those times according to that of

Callinectes aquatilis (American blue crab)

το οὐς πολλὰ ἐφελίουτε ἀνόντων ἡντ' ἔργα

10. εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην Σικελίαν ἐν καλῶς λατρεῖας.

to which answer only when the question is put at once.

gibbous moon) and to agree on the number of fish being released.

[illegible]

million bloom has (2011) 100,000,000 (2012) 100,000,000

It is known that foreign exchange reserves are

Y 3 CAP

V 3

CAP

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoris.

BUT what if shee could not be woone over by faire meanes? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling trick to bewich her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of her's into their possession, and worke upon that, according to the nurses advise to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*,

Euripides Hipp.
v. 512.

Αἶψ' ἂν ἐκείνη δὲ τὴν παρθένον
Συμφορῇ, ἢ λόγῳ πρὸς ἡμῶν δόξῃ
Λαλεῖν (Cyprius) ἐν δόξῃ μὲν χεῖρ.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like is for a fascination. ὀφθαλμὸν πρὸ βέλτανον ἀνεσπάρσατο, he threw a *sheepes eye* at her (saith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the Window and goes out at the Dore*, may not absurdly be understood of the eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls δόξα & ψυχή, the Doores of the Soul which seem to be the way & the passage by which the two loves goe in & out. ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὡς δύν, saith *Museus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀνὰ τὴν ἑσπρὰ, saith * *Eustathius*, and so † *Lucian* make the sight the first step* in *Cupid's ladder of love*. To trie therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would goe to the house where she liv'd, and the fashion being for the Daughter δινῶχεῖν to sit drink to the stranger: (as *Softhenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) after the old folke had drunke, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she dranke, to be sure to drinke at the same, according to that of the

*Poet

*Ovid de Arte
Am. lib. 1. Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pacula; quâq; bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

forsooth they thought thus to have a kisse mediate at the second hand wasted over in the cup *καταπίνει τὸ φίλημα*, *Aristophanes* calls it, not to kisse the cup, but to cup the kisse.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris

Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse

Πορθημαὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ κεύλις ὧς οὐ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kisse they used to call ἀποπνευστὸν φίλημα, (missivum osculum, or a Kisse conveyed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* doe. And by this time they have seen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will trie what they can doe with the Tongue, by *incanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand with gifts and *Philtes*. ἐκ ἀνδ' ὡν ὦν φίλων τε καὶ ἐπιδῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρῶν, saies *Xenophon*. Ὡς more especially is the name of a Bird, (whether it be *torquilla* or *regulus*, or *passerculus*: the last is most likely because of its *salacity*) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Echo* saies *Callimachus*) because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very sutable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholias*t upon *Lycophon*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the taile and punished she is enough for her roguery, for (besides that way I told you of before) some times they ty'd her ἐκ τινὸς τροχῶ to a wheele (as I thinke) and chanted a charme as they whirled it round, sometimes (at least the entralls) to a τροχῶ of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly run'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used.

* Nem. O. l. 4.
vid. Theoc.
Pharmacentr.
& Aristophan.
Lusistratē
prope finem.

* not σεπ-
τιν
* Περὶ πο-
ταμ.

used for any pleasant thing, or inticement *ἡμεῖς ἐλκεύμεν ἡμᾶς* saies * Pindar, or any other Magicall Love toy, such as *Ungues* muscles, wreathed fillets, hayre, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambolls of the same branne according to that which I have seen of *Lalium* an ancient Poet.

Trochiscili, Ungues, tania

Aurea, Ilices bitortila,

With no stronger chaines then those of twisted wooll (* *παι-
τὸν ἐλκύν* * Plutarch calls it) is *Saturne* reported to have beene bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him downe. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes* woollen feet, as the proverb saies they had, then that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas*, woollen fetters. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lye fast in those bands all the year long, 'till the Moneth *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I referre you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. lib. 1. c. 8*. Though I beleive they intended no other then a Magicall tye, upon the affection of the party, Yet they seem to have made use of wooll, rather then any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of wooll, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules* or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untied but in the *Geniall-bed*. Then the doores of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doores, were bound about with woollen filletings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this *πλεκτὴν ἔριον* I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that.

* *Στέφανος τὰν καλὴν βορρηνικὴν διδοὺς αὐτῇ.*

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way. but thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the woman in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used

* Theocrit.
Pharmacentr.

used they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus a *Al-
thas* burnt *Melager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tyed up *b
Alemana's* womb *Dignis inter se pedine junctis*. I know not how. Thus *c
Simetha* (to come hearer home) angry with *Del-
phis* for want of his Love would have scattered his bones in the meale, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the waxe, or have had him tumble to her doore in the *Bräzen Bowle*, and have kill'd him with kindnesse. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe: as things that were fit to be done neither by day, nor above ground. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as d *Philostrophus* d *Lib. 8. E. 68* speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ ὑποκίον καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ ταρσινίδιον, καὶ ὁ στικτὸς ὄρεϊς, καὶ αἱ χρυσαὶ πίδακας, καὶ οὐκίδιον, καὶ ἀεικαρδία, καὶ λατὶς φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be *Cerussa*. τὸ ταρσινίδιον, otherwise τὰρσινίδιον, or τὰρσινιδίδιον, *Multicia* or *Bombycia*, a kind of * *διαφανὲς ἐνδύμα*, or a garment that hid the e *Pollux*. body so that it might be seen, *lucet sic per Bombycina corpus*, saies *Marrial*, such Women used it

g *Quæ tenni sudant in cyclade quarum
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.*

It had the name *ὑποκίον* καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, saith h *Pollux*, *Ἐπικαρδοί ὄρεϊς*, are like to be *σάδραι Lacerta*, such as shee in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄρεϊς worne about the wrists τὸν καρπὸν: and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger then woollen. But besides all these there was *υποβολεῖν*, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I meane, reported to grow in the Garden of *Venus*, and us'd at weddings (as shall be shewne hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was sitting in the Temple of *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple i *Aristan. lib. 1. Ep. 10.* with this Inscription *Μα πῶν Ἀρτέμιον Ἀκοντὶα χαμῦμαι*, or if you had rather have the Latine

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Diana,

Me tibi venturam comitem sponſamq; futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhe took, when ſhe did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes* threw Back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it; it was enough, which made (k) *Philenis*, being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complaine of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The (l) Women of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning Woemen at this worke, being able (as he ſaies) *μαγδίν' ἔπος, ὥς μὴ πρὸς ἑτέραν, ἔτι τὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκλίνον γυναῖκα, &c.* And ſo are the Women of *Egypt* (I think the ſexe hath ſtill had the Monopolie of Magick (however the *Egyptian* (m) Souldier came to miſtake in the *Dofis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the Potion. For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her cleane out of her witts, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Galigula* with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbes, as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the *σευλίς* (rendered *Paſtinaca*) call'd by way of excellency τὸ φίλ. *ἔρ, ὅτι δειγερτικὸν εἰς τὰ κατ' Ἀρεσθίῳ, ſaies Eufſtathius. Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his *γαμινὰ περὶ γυλέωντα*, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to unwitch the party againe? (for I have heard of ſome that can do this, who cannot do the tother) yes, either by taking counter-phyſick, (as *Leucippe* did:) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Panſanias* ſaies) they uſed to do in *Achaia*: or elſe by Sacrifices or charmes, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the * *Nurſe* to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

*Sen Furoreſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico inſtrabere ritu:
Ira Deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.*

CAP

CAP. VI.

De Uſitato more ſignificandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heat (as indeed the ſoule is naturally inclined * *ὡπὲρ αἰδάνεας, καὶ διανοήσω, καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἔτω καὶ φιλάειν* to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care thoſe *Græcian* Women had of their Sweet-hearts. In ſo much, that if you call to minde ſome of their choyleſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarch's* mind, in approving the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, *διὼν ὑπερβία πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτείαν νέων.* Not to tell you that ſometimes they ſent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trimme up their bodies as they did their owne ^a with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doores (or τὰ ἐνώτια the parts of the houſe ^a *Eufſtath. Iſm.* expoſed to ſight when the doores were open, *ἀνεκδόμην ἔνεα καὶ τὴν περιόντων* ſaies *Hefſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as ^b *Athenæus* ſaies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of *Ερως*. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔρωτος ἐρώμενον ἀγάλμα, τέτερε γὰρ ὄντα πρὸς δίκην σφαινοῖσι, as making the body of a ſweet-heart the Image, and his houſe, the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, τὰ σεφάνια μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπει (ſaies *Petalia* to *Simæon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples *μῆλα ἀποδεδυγμένα* (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at table, viz: leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſells of meat, ſuch as ^c *Martiall* would have *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as ^d *Ovid* ſpeaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos præguſtaverit ipſe,

X 2

Rejice

* *Ovid Met.*
l. 10 fab. 11.

k *Ariſtæn lib.*
1 op. 25
l *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*
Theſſala vendit Philtra.
Juvenal.

m *Corgias apud Tat. l. 4.*
n *Suetonius.*

* *Ovid Met. l.*
10 fab. 9.

* *Plut. in Solou.*

* *In vitâ Theſ.*

^a *Eufſtath. Iſm.*

^b *L. 15.*

^c *L. 6. Ep. 7.*

^d *Amor. l. 1. El. 4.*

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

(e) De vitâ
Cleric. ad
Nepotian.

But I must tell you S. Hieroms (e) censure, *de gustatos cibos, blandosq; ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet*, it ought not to be so amongst you. Symmachius upon those words of the birds in Aristophanes, — — — καὶ τοῖσιν ἐφ' ᾧ συνέσμεν, saies they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, such as doves, and the σίτην, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅτι πύχνη saith the Scholiast) was passed by without writing thereon the name of the party, in this forme ὁ δαίνα καλός, or κείνος καλός, for the word κείνος among the Grecians signified *amatum*. a *Womans* word, like τῆνος in Theocritus,

f Diog. Laer.
in Diademo.

Ἰουγξ ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶλα τὸν αὐδ' ἔρα. Instead Whereof (say some) you shall read κῆμος in the Comedian in *Vespis*. but I see no such need of a correction, for he speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the employments of the Court, that the κῆμος (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ranne still in his mind, and therefore (saies he)

a. Vid. p. 118.

— — — ἀν' ἱστῆ γὰρ παρὰ γὰρ χρυμένον

Τὸν πυλῶν πᾶς ἐν δούρῳ δῆμον καλόν,

Ἰὼν παρέχευε Κημὶς Καλός.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their *Mistresses*. which they wrote sometimes upon the very leavs of the trees, according to that of Callimachus,

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κακομένηα πόσ' ἀφ' ἑσθιέ

Τεθιμῆα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλῶ.

Let on the leaves so many letters lye,

As my *Cydippe Faire* may signifie.

Which puts me in mind of what Lucian in his *Ἑρωτις* saies of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖχ' ἅπας ἐχράσαστο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακῇ δένδρε φλοιὸς ἀφ' ἐστὶ καλῶ ἐκίευσεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a barke of a tree but what proclaimed VENUS FAIRE. How glad

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worne them in their hats as we doe. but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature, (for

— — — *Inscripti nomina rerum.*

Nascuntur flores — — —) and an example

given them by Apollo himselfe, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive when he was dead; not contented with that

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,

Flos habet inscriptum — — —

Lib. Ovid. Met.
10. Fab. 5.

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one halfe of his name, as the same Author has it.

Littera communis mediis pueroq; viroq;

Inscripta est foliis: hac nominis, illa querela.

L. 13. F. 1.

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unlesse there were written a κείνος καλός besides upon the same Flower.

Νῦν ὅτ' ἀκινδρὸν ἄλει τὰ σὰ χεῖματά, καὶ πλείον' Αἰ. Αἰ.

Λάμβανε σὺς πεταλοῖσι, καλὸς πέπτηκε μελικτὴς.

Καλός for him, and Καλή for Her was sure to be written, for never seem'd *Mistresse fowle*, nor *Prison faire*. But for her part if she were Κυάνοφρος, or had black eye-brows, she was counted faire indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyssen*, καὶ ὁρῶν *Theocritus* μέλαιναν φρενυχμένῳ τὸ ὄμματι, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελαίνην τὰς ὀφθ. to black them: or if she were somewhat bigge of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his *Rhetorick*, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the Women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time, it was counted most commendable τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόνην χρῆσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὴν τε πρὸς δρόμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talk't too long.

Seneca Ep.
115.

* Tacit.

long of Love, or of Robin-hood, that never shot in his bow. I feare the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyle and labour upon such a subject, and (it may be) give his censure that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will mistrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I will not stick but *propere sequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

CAP. VII:

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unlesse the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or *αυτη* *δυσκλίστα*, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) and not yet ripe (*Matura viro* in the words of *Virgil*.) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, promise himselfe after the manner of the Latine forme, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *μνηστρον* or other in earnest: but the Woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a woman were false enough to make the saying among the French to be true.

*Qui femme croit & asne mesne,
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.*

And yet (it seemes) though they feared she might breake a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to hold her. For sometimes at the consummation of the businesse, they went both into the Temple, and there ingaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαπίσειν ἀδελφως*, and the Woman, *ἀνδρα ποιεῖσθαι*, & *ἀντὶ τὸν ἀπορήναι δεσφίττω*. I doe not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat.
l. 5.

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *pocalum conjugii* as well as *Charitatis*, & to pledge their troth in a cup, a trick by which *Camma* is reported to have poison'd *Synorix*, (whom she pretended to marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loafe in two between them with a sword, related by *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding are said to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the *Virgin*. Besides this, before she can cease to be of the herd of the *αἰσυρες* * *κῆραι*, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calfe never yet married in the yoke, (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes (and a crop of her haire besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

a Alex. ab A-
lex. l. 2. c. 5.

b L. 8.

c Cal. Rhod. l. 7:

c: 4.

d παρδέρει
Minerva so cal-
led.

* Eurip.

(e) *Μόσχοιτε ἀπὸ γάμων αἷς διὰ πᾶν ῥέων
Ἀρτέμιδι.*

e Eurip. in
Iphigen. Aul.
versu 11. 12.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband.

(f) *Προτέλθα δ' ἦδη παιδὸς ἔτρεξας διὰ;*

f ibid. v. 711.

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poore *Iphigenia* she was not so much to do as to be a Sacrifice to *Diana* the Goddess of *Aulis*, and be made a calfe her selfe: When as our Woman, it will serve her turne to *καυηροῦν* to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curius needle-worke or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose (g) *Ἀρτεμι μὴ νεμίωσθαι* that she would not take it amisse if she married. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the *καυηρόρια*, there were others as solemne as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtaine the good will of the goddess. The manner

g Theocr. Id
27.

manner of them, and the occasion, you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certaine Beare growing tame, came and liv'd in the *δῆμος* of the *Phlavidæ*: insomuch that at length a little girle durst goe so farre, and so neere, as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*: whereupon one of her brothers shot the Beare and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, some time or other between the yeares of Five and Tenne of her age, clad in a *κροκωτὶς* or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her selfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Beare, and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her selfe called *ἀρκυρῆ* *the Beare, and the action *ἀρκυρία* and *ἀρκυρεῖν* to play the Beare, (which me thinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes *δεκαεῖν*, because commonly they deferred it till the last yeare, as she did in **Leusistræte*.

*Harpocr.

a *Aristo. b.*

Εἴτ' ἀλεγεινὴ ἢ δεκέρτις

Ὀδοιτὶς ἀρχυρῆτις

Καὶ ἀρχυρῆτις κροκωτὶς ἐν Βραυρωνίῳ.

a *Athen l. 6.*

**Εν Βραυρωνίῳ*, she saies, because it was to be done in the feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who ^a is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (in *Atticis*) saies, that Image of hers, which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* ^b *Brauronia*. And yet after all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous of displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for a warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore call'd by the name of *Δρυὶς*, faith ^c *Enstathius*: or else, (according to the Scholiast upon a *Aristophanes*)

b *Pausan. in Arcad.*c *Ad Odiss. Σ.*d *In Plut. A. 8. 3. Sc. 3.*

Stophanes d) quasi *ἁδὸν δ' ῥῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς*, because he had in a manner invented the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to knowledge, and in the way of a certaine couple) or rather (if you will), the natures of a Father and a *Sonne*; for before, neither the Father could be knowne by the *Sonne*, nor the *Sonne* by the Father. But some againe say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man and in the lower, of a Dragon, as he saies (in *Vespis*)

~Ω κεκερσῖ ἥρως ἀναξ τὰ περὶ πιδῶν δερκον τῶν διν.

And others, because of the many excellent Lawes, which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he seemed to have new-moulded them, and made them of another nature: in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musicke: of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes **Rhodiginus*: who saies he was call'd by this name, because the children did now appeare to be *διγενῆς*, come of two; whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μονογενῆς*, the Sons of a Mother only: nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be expos'd, or put out to nursing to Beares & Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in speciall manner to *Ἥμνορα* *ἑκλῖα*, either as a *Pronuba* for the present, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as he in **Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I should be glad if we *Christians* could answer, not guilty, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready. *αὐτὸς ἑτέρον &c.* (as *Aristotle* saies in his *b. Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Ἥμνο* went under the severall names of *περγαμία*, *περγέλεια*, and *περγέλειοι εὐχαὶ*, *ἡρατέλεια*, and *γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ*, indeed the two first

*Lib. c. 25.

a *In Amphitr. Act. 2. Sc. 2.*b *L. 1. c. 4.*

first are sometimes the same that *καίβολα*, the gifts sent before the wedding and the word *προτέλεια*, is used also sometimes in relation to others, as well as to *ἵμνο*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptiall pompe, thus speaking.

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεαίδα

Αὐλίδος ἀνδρῶν τίς νιν ἄξει πύτι;

c. V. 433.

d Jul Pol. l. 3. And so sometimes to the *ἱερά* *Parca*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to *spinne* out their lives to the longest. But yet *ἵμνο* (I think) was in a great deale more request among lovers then any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouthes. For among the *Latins*, when they would expresse themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *ἵμνο*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet * by the name of *ἵμνο*:

* Plaut. in
Casina Act.
1. Sc. 3.

Eia mea ἵμνο, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo ἵονι.
Adde hereunto the title of *Ἡρα τελεία* (as there is also *χεῖρ* *τέλει*) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word *προτέλεια*) must be so said either from *τέλει* anciently put for *γάμος* (as *τελεῖσθαι* was for *γῆμαι*) from whence comes *τέλειον* both the Sacrifice and the day or from *προτελεῖν* to initiate; or from *τέλει* *adultus*, as if only such as were of age, (& *ἐν βίῳ τελεῖω*) * might be suffered to have the happiness to marry. Now *ἵμνο adulta* and *Jupiter adultus*, were the more religiously worshipped at such a time *ὡς προτέλειοντες* *ἱερεῖς* *γαίων* (saies *Snidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanes*, and overseers of the wedding. Her'es a great deale of cry about *Sacrifices*, but you'll say the *wooll* is to come: only some *σπονδαί* there must be, least any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gift

* Aristotle.

called by *Demosthenes* *Γαμήλια*, was that which they sent to the *φράτορες* for the making of a feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called *ἔδνα*, (as they did also those which they gave when they went a wooing) But the *ἔδνα* *χιτῶν* was a garment bestowed upon the husband by the Wife, (giving of apparel was very usuall once, both with the *ſem** & the *Gentile*.) And you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she gave * *Genef. c. 24.* a cake to him that had a *Pasty* in the Oven, for if she brought her *ἔδνα*, she had her *ἐμπόρευια* to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her selfe: for else (it may be) before it was come thus farre, she might beare the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne's abandonne, she that gives is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they called *μεῖλια ἐμπόρευια* as were those which were giving after the Wedding. The Dowry bestowed upon her by her father at the first, *προῖξ*, that which was afterward added to improve it, *ἐπιπροῖξ*. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too free of their distinctions) At her first bringing to her Husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her friends *τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια* (which was also the name of the day it selfe) otherwise called *ἀνὰ ῥήτρα, ὁμήτρια, ἀθήματα* and *σχεποδότηρια*, and all for the same reason, viz. because those gifts were given *at illa patere ut se videri*, saies * *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayle, and be seen. In such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phanissis*.

Τῆς γὰρ πύτι Κρονίδης δῶκεν παρὰ Περσέρονι

Ἐν γὰρ ὅτε σέθεν ῥῆ ἀποσώσασθαι ἔμελλε

Νυμφιδίῳ σπείρειο παρὰ κλίνῃσιν κάλυπ' ἔν.

Κάλυπ' ἔν saies he, or *καλύπτεαν* according to *I. Pollux*: for al-

Y 2

though

* Var. Lect.
l. 25. c. 3.

though she might now shew her face & be modest neverthe-
 lesse, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vaile or hood, with
 which she *hid* her selfe, & so deserved the name of *ἡμίε* if it
 were for nothing else* but for that. This *Luteous* vaile is other-
 wayes called *ἐάνδης*, in Latine *Flammæum*,^a in Hebrew *הַעֲרָבִי*,
 such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Hus-
 band, *Gen. 24. 65.* or *Tamar* when she met with a worse
 thing *c. 38. 19.* The reason why *they* were not *unvailed* till
 they came to be *covert Baron* (I meane at *Athens*, for at *Spar-*
ta they say, it was the cleane contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited
 by ^b *Cal. Rhodiginus*) deliver'd *vail'd* under these words *ὅτι*
τὸ πρῶτον κέρως ἀνδρας εὐρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σῶζεν καὶ ἔχοντα.
 the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome
 though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great *ayme*,
 when I say, *Auēta fuga forma est.*—

(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her (or when I
 expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnius*.

Καὶ πλεον ἡμεῖς καλυπτομενοῖς σκεπώμεθα.

Men long to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocra-*
tes. who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest,
 put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being deman-
 ded his *ἀνακαλυψίαι*, very handsomely answered to put it
 off, *ἐγκαλυψίαια μὲν ἐν πτωχῶν λαμβάνων, I had more need*
give her somewhat to let her vaile alone, unlesse she were better
then she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same
 making that their ordinary *πίπτα* were, I cannot well tell;
 but if they were, (as I have some cause so to think, by those
 words of ^a *Iphigenia* as she was going to be Married *Εἰ γὰρ δὲ*
λεπτῶν οὐκ ἐκκαλυμμένων * *Εχυσ*—) then I must tell you,
 they were so thinne, that their faces might well have been
 discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it
 seems, could see the flowers thorow *them*.

^b *Ὅς με χλοερά*

Δρεπομένην ἔσω πέπλων

Ῥόδα πίπτα—

But

But this may be easily answered: for as (you know) a *moun-*
taine that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little
 finger between: so againe, one man is able to see another
 plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himselfe*. And
 so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have
 more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carri-
 ed from her *παρθενῶν* Chamber, to her Husband, in a Coach
 (or some such kind of thing) which the poore Girle in the Po-
 et* (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could terme
 little better then being ferried in *Charon's* boat.

* *Ἀδὲς Ἀχιλλεύου, ἃρ, ἔχ' ὁ παρθένος*

Ὅν μοι προσέειπας ποσιν: ἐν ἀρμάτων δ' ὄχρ' ἔχεις.

Εἰς ἀμώπερον γάμον ἐπὶ ὄρδ' ἔμεινας δόλφ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peless* sonne

You would me then have married,

When mee to bloody Nuptials

In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in
 his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nunciis* in ano-
 ther Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen*
 himselfe.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμην' ἄς δὲ τετραέροισ.

Ἰπποῖς ἐρχάζων παρέφερον: σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροισ

Σὺ τ' ὦ δ' οὐ μὲν δ' αὖ μ' ἔλγεις ὄλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because
 it explaines the custome so fully.) The song which they
 sung as they went along, they called *ἀρμάτειον μέλ' ὅ*, from
ἄρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as soone
 as they came to the Bride-groomes doore, *ut signarent illam*
ibi perpetuò mansuram, neq, inde ullâ tempestate recessuram: to
 shew that she was never to returne from thence againe: just
 as *William the Conquerour* burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so
 his Souldiers seeing their returne to be desperate, might
 Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say,) or with the bet-
 ter courage. The *συμφαγωγὴς*, *συμφωτὴς*, or *πυρρὸνυμφ' ὅ* that

Y. 3

was

* See another
 reason in
 Prov. c. 3. v.

¹⁹
 a *Juv. Sat. 2.*

^b *L. 13. 36.*

^a In *Aul. v.*
 372.

^b *Eurip. Hel.*
 v. 150.

* *Id. in Tauris*
 v. 370. ὅ.

Id. in Hel.
 v. 728.

* *Alex. ab*
Alex.

was sent to fetch her, either fate by her side in the same Coach, or else went a long by her Coaches side in another, and was therefore called *παῖχος*, from *ὄχ*; unless that she were either willing, or constrain'd to foot it, for then he could be but *χαλαῖος* a *Pedee*. This custome for the Husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his second marriage, for then (saies ^a *Eustathius*) *ἡ δὲ* (i. *νεόμυσαι* saies ^b *Pollux*) *ἢ νυμφὶν μετέναι*, he might not do it him selfe, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the *νυμφόπαις*, or the *Bride-man*, & some of her owne friends, there went along with her a *νυμφεύτρια*, or a *Bride-woman* to take of her vayle, and dresse, and undresse, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding ornaments were precious stones and jewels, especially about her hed, such as ^a *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

Κοσμήν μ' ἀμφὶ κεφαλῇ χρυσῇ χλιδῇ.

Her *Wedding-garment* all of purple, save in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) *ἐνθα ὃ δ' ἄλλως ἐδῆσιν ἢ χῶρα δ' πορεύεται ἐκείνῃ χρυσοῦς λῶ;* and there it was gold: which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Ὅτ' ποτ' εἴγ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρῆτα Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this custome to interpret *πῶ πορεύεται δ' παρθερίας* (in ^b *Eustathius*) in another sense then others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies ^c *Apuleius*: it seemes they tarried not till ^{*} *Juvenals* time

—Foribus suspende Coronas

Jam pater es— Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the House, for she her selfe had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

^a In Homeri Il. β.

^b L. 3. c. 5.

^a Eurip. Androm. v. 147.

^b Idem l. 10.

^c L. 3. Met. ^{*} Sat. 9.

Ἐοὶ κατὰ σέφαι ἐγὼ νῦν ἦν ὡς χαμυκέλω.

And (I think) her Husband too, *καὶ δὲ σεφαιώσης, καὶ δὲ αἰεσίπης* *ἔνδεσ νομρίον*, saies ^c *Libanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trimme the Husband: as it was the Mothers to adorne the wife. That custome of adorning the House with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, and as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis jannam infamabit*, saies ^d *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*; or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*, or else of the leaves of the hearbs *Σισυμβειον*, *Σήσαμον*, and *Μήκων*, and so they made them at *Athens*: *Σήσαμα δ' ἢ μήκωνες καὶ σισυμβειον φύλλα οἷς σεφαιῶνται οἱ νυμφίοι*, saies the ^a *Scholias*: the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plurall number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum*: leaves had the name of *Σησαμῖ*, or *Σησαμῖς*, but the *Cake* which they made of the graine was called *Σησαμῖ*. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as He saies in the ^{*} *Comœdy* (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πακοὺς πέπασται Σησαμῖ ξυμπλάττεται.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather then any other thing *διὰ τὸ πολύγονον* (saith the *Scholias*) as if it were the hearb *Polygammum* a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembering her haire with a Speare (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the losse of his life) were in use among the *Grecian Women* too (as ^b some say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a Speare *hastam celibarem*. The reason why the woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a speare, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se geniturâ ominetur*, because she ominated that by this means she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi discipline se subditam fateatur*. Because she acknowledged her selfe subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fa-

^d Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 705. ^c Declam. 39.

^f De Coron. milit. c. 13.

^a Upon Aristoph. in Pa.

^{*} Aristoph. Pac.

^b Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.

^a Aristoph. in
Pluto.

thers house, she was to be *lifted* out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe*. As she entred into her Husband's house, the ^a Boyes, and Maides fell a throwing of Figs, and junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an omen of *fruitfulness*, *ἀσπιδεύς συμμειον*, (saies Rhodiginus out of Theopompus) which puts me in minde of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of *Us*, viz: upon *Twelve Eve* (as they call'd it) to put a part of their tosted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *What-sayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull yeare. The trumpery thus thrown or *powred* out, they called *καταχύματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comædy of *Pluto* where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon him, and so to give him the *joy* for his new-bought eyes: saies Shee

— — — κομίσω κατὰ χύματα

Ὡς πρὸ νεωνήτισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the *Scholiast* notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first comming into the house, to have him to the fire side and there to *sow* upon his head *κόλλυβα*, *ἰχθυαί*, *ροίνικαι*, Junkets, and Figgs, and *Palme-branches*, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I thinke was done, not onely as he saies, *εἰς εὐπορίας συμμειον*, to make it an *Omen* of *fruitfulness* (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was throwne, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) doe the *Fresh-mens-gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon them for a *vieltme*. In the cutting [of it up (to shew that in Wedlock all bitterness and choller must be cast aside) they tooke the ^a Gall, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

^a Cael. Rhod.
l. 28. c. 21.

If

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happned to ^b *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*: for an Eagle came and *snacht* away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of ^c *Agamemnon*: who, when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheere*, very religiously made answer yes,

Οὐτως γὰρ δούμαθ' ἄμπρ' ἔχσω: δούται θεοῖς.

When I have done my Wedding Sacrifice.

As also by that which you may read of the like practise in *Achilles Tatium*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Lycippe*, and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more speciall manner to *Jupiter* *Ουρόγυνος*, and *Juno* *Συζυγία*, if it may appeare by that of *Libanius*. *τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπὶ τῇ συζυγίᾳ, καὶ οὐρόγυνον Δία, καὶ Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐπὶ τῇσι παρτέρεσσιν*. By reason of this and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a profanation they made it to disturbe the business never so little, or to offer any incivility to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance. One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocius Codice* *σδ.*) being accused of bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) *τὸ παλαιὸν ἰδόντες ἐξερραμένους, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἴη τεθνηὼς νυνὶ γάμοις, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν: καὶ γὰρ ὥσθισαν εὖ ἔχειν ἐπισπλάθειν γυναῖκα νεογάμου*, as soone as they saw but the *signes* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the doore) and were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice: because they would not rush uncivilly in upon the new-Married-Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned presently back againe, and the court was contented with the *newes*. So likewise in the Warrs with King *Philip*, having intercepted severall Letters of his to his friends, and among the rest

^b Ach Tat. l. 2.

^c Eurip. Iph. in
A. v. 721.

Libanius De-
clam. 35.

Z

one

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*: when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out *μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν*, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up: ^a Περὶ γὰρ γαμῶν γυναικῶν καὶ δὲ γαμμάτων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπορήτων ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι ἐν οὐρανῶν δημοσιεύειν ἐν ἀρχαῖς εἶναι, because they thought it a thing no way befitting them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their gods, they made hast to the service of their *Genius*: but amidst a great deale of good cheere, the Man and the Wife were all waies noted ^a for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thornes, and boughs of Acornes, singing as he went ^b εὐρον κακόν, εὐρον ἀμεινον, I (or they) have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better. If he spake in the person of the Man, he ment that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the three evils at the least; & so it is not so bad as *Out in the frying pan into the fire*; (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of the leasing of her, for so (they say) he that hath lost his Wife and sixpence, hath some losse by the mony. The Musick which they had was singing *ἀμωβαίως*, by turnes; and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) ^c ὦ Τηλέ, ὦ Τηλέ, imitated by him in *Plantus*.

Jo Hymen, Hymenæ, Jo Hymen.

And this they did either in a thankfull commemoration of one of that name, who had sometime sav'd the Maides of Athens from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a sorrowfull commiseration of another, that happend to be kill'd by the fall of a house the very day that he Married. What ever the Man was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies.

Quid

Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in ^a *Plantus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Jo Hymen Hymenæ*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

^a Ὅταν ἔω δ' ἀναίσιον ἐξ ἀγορῆς.

saies *Clytemnestra*: ^b which agrees with that of the other Poet ^b *Eurip. Iphig* in *A. v. 693*.

Age tibi cen dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,

Snavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæ.

Whether 'twere the fashion in Greece to set the Woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I mistake not) *Laetantius* ha's somewhat of such a thing, and I might speake more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the Woman was led into the Chamber, (^a θάλαμον or ^a παρὰ δα.) to shew whereto she must, there was a five carried along with her, and a pestle hung up at the doore, ^a σπηῖα ἀσπεργίας (as *I. Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learne to put her hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince-apple* and eat it between them, ^a ὅτι δὲ τὴν σπῆναι, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ ἰδῆσθαι, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signify the pleasantnesse, and harmony which should be in their talk at first. And yet notwithstanding, now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the building imperfect; and this they called ^a ἀνεπίξετον δῶμα, or γάμον ἀτελῆ, because by this means

— ^a *Conjux miserranda Cayco*

Linguitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

^a δῶμα I said (or if you will *προκορίζεσθαι* speake a little finer,) *δομάτιον*: for this word is many times used by it selfe for *δῶλαμ*, as it seemes to be by *Plato* in his third booke *de Republ.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ἔως ἐμπληρῆντα ἰδόντα ἢ ἵπτα, ὥς τε ἀκ-

Z z

δδ

^a *Valer. Flacc.*

^a *Phocius ib.*

^a *Athenæus. l. 9*

^b *Zenobius.*

^c *Aristoph.*
in *Avib.*

δεῖς τὸ σημεῖον. ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡπὲρ ἐυλόβιονον χρεὶ πγ.
 γίνεσθαι. And yet I thinke, b *Hesiod* without any wrong done
 him) may be understood of any other businesse left *Rough-*
hewn, μηροῖς δ', or not done over againe, when he laies

Μηδὲ δὲ μὲν πρὶν ἀνεπίξεν καταλείπειν
 Μῆτι ἐδεζομένη κωῶζα λακέρυζα κορώνη.

c *Apud. Eu-*
stath. l. 5.

c *Ismenias* applies it indeed to our purpose: but now to pre-
 vent such an omen as this, they set the boyes to cry Κόρη ἐκκό-
 ρει κορώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to
 keep off the Rooks from the corne: κορώνην (I say) and not
 κορώναι, in the *Plural* number, for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pin-*
dar is suppos'd to have mistaken; because neither that bird,
 nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was
 commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to
 be lookt upon as unlucky; unlesse it came in the singular
 number; and then the birds being singled and divided one
 from the other, could not possibly be a good signe, to those
 that were to be coupl'd, and joyned together. But some not-
 withstanding like the Choughs for very good lucky birds (as we
 use to say) let them come how they will: either because they
 are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* calls them longliv'd or because ea
 cornicum societas est (saies (a) one) ut ex duabus Sociis, altera
 extincta, vidua altera perpetuo maneat. Now in the Chamber
 where they were to lye, they had two beds, viz. κλινὴν καμικὴν,
 & κλινὴν παραβύσον, or a side-bed for a change or ἑστ' τῷ πρὶν
 δαμνὲ ἀδυνάσσει, saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married
 were very young, their Poets would terme the bed κλει-
 δον λέχθ, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*.) and so κλειδον * δῶμα
 for the house, and κλειδία for the Wife. Before the Woman
 could lye which the Man, she was to have her bath of water
 heated of purpose to wash her body in, θυμεικὸν λουτρον they
 called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrata*.

Σπρ. Ω' λέκτρον, ἐνθα παρδένει ἐλυσ' ἐγώ

Χορ. Κορέυματ' ἐκ τῆς δ' αὐδρὸς.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trygaeus* when he intended to marry
Opora

Opora, giving order to his servant, as soone as he had brought
 her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and af-
 terward to make the bed.

Ἄλλ' εἴσω' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
 Καὶ πλὴν πύελον κατὰ κλυζε, καὶ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ,
 Στόριυθιμοι καὶ τῇ τ' αὖ καυρίδιον λέχε.

This water at first was fetcht as farre as from *Callirhoe*-well;
 ἐκ τ' καλλιρροῆς, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐκ τ' ἐννεακρήνου κληδείτης. But af-
 terward saies *Pollux* from *Enneacrinus*, which was so called a L. 3. c. 3.
 because it had nine severall κρήνες or fistulas, or salientes,
 where the water sprung up: and so you might allow one for
 every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacri-*
nus were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one
 expressing what faire Water it was, or how well and cleare it
 ranne: and the other in how many places: for it may very
 well be thought so by that verse of *Statius*.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis

Implicat—

Nay, *Thucydides* saies positively, they were the same. Only that
 when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usu-
 all when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it
 received the name of *Enneacrinus*. Which if it be so, I think it
 may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of
 his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τ' καλλιρροῆς, εἴτ' αὖθις τ'
 ἐννεακρήνου κληδείτης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacri-*
nus. The Woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this Wa-
 rer, was commonly called the Λεξοδόρος. When the Wife
 was ready to undresse, her Mother took her haire-lace, and
 winding it about one of the torches (for they had θείδαι νυμφι-
 κὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her haire with a new. The
 Mother I said. For she commonly would δαδευχεῖν, carry
 the torches or hold the Candle to it, or any other work which
 the *Pronuba's* used to doe.

— Non te duxit in thalamos parens

Comitata primos, nec sua festa manu

Z 3

Ornavit

*Ornavit ades, nec suâ letas faces.**Vittâ revinxit—* saies * *Forasta.*

* Senec. Theb.

a Declam. 37.

* Eurip. Iph.

in Aul v. 734.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd: whether it were *Corylus* commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*: or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans. and so likewise for their number, whether the custome were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Juno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Sua-dela*, and *Lucina*: they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise, why should the covetous Father in a *Libanius* complaine so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not *ἐνι λύχρῳ πῶν νύμειν ἀγαγεῖν*, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. But for the bearer that it was usually the Mother, will appeare by the discourse that pass'd betweene *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the * Poets, for when her Husband bid her goe back again to *Argos*, and leave her Daughter with him; she ask'd him

— πῆς δ' ἀναχῆς φέρεα, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered *ἐγὼ παρὲς ὧν, ὁ νυμφοῖς ὄρεται*, that he meant to do it himselfe: nay, quoth she *ἔχ' ἔ νύμφ' ἔτ' ἔ καὶ σὺ δ' ὦν ἡ γὰρ τὰδε*, that was never the custome, neither do you your selfe think it to be handsome and fitting And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd: for it seems to have been reckon'd not so much the office and the charge, as the Priviledge and the honour of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of her sad consequences of her banishment from the company of her Children, to be debarr'd the bearing of the Torches at the Wedding. O my deare children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before, I carry the Torches.

Eurip Med.
1025.

(a) *Ποῖν λάτρεα, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γαμήλιος*
ἑνὰς ἀγῆλαι λαμπαδας τ' ἀναχέειν.

Tis

* Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. *δύσας γαμήλιος ἀναχέειν*: I lighted the Torches, saies he in a *Libanius*. But this office neither of them * Decl. 35. could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's*) upon the death of her children, *Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπαδας γαμήλιος ὤντων προσέειπ' (not only ἀναχέειν) πῆς ἡμετέροις καὶ τῇ παρθένοις*: I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the Woman (whether because she had vowed to be henceforth her Husband) and so deliver'd her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus us'd, certainly the * Deutr c. 21. People there would have taken her for a captive Wife.) The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by her Husband in the bed, *ζώνῃ δ' ὡς ὁ κείνος ὃν ἔδουσαν αἰ παρθένοις, ὅς καὶ ἐκ ἐλευθέρου ὡς ἄνθρωποι γίνονται*, saies the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λυσιζώνη* might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing: and worshipped she was then, as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*: or whether there were another yet to be untied besides this: or whether it were tied and untied againe: or whether one knot were untied at first time, and another at the second; ther's the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be prov'd by those words of *Alcestes*.

ᾧ λέκτρον, ὅτ' αὖ παρθένοι ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
 κορέυεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρός—

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of Child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Hercula-*
nens

184 *Archæologia Atticā. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.*
neus nodus formerly mention'd: because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger *ty'd*; as to his happiness in making of Children, as if they would have it the *faster untty'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy Children just. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maides (whom we may call the *Children of the Bride-groome*) stood at the Chamber doore, and sung their ἐπιδαλμα, or γαμήλια, with as great noyse as possibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παῖδε' εὖ βιαζομένης, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἢ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακένῃ, saies the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her *time*, she might not be heard. Which they had no such need to do, if that be true which they say, that one of the Brides friends, whom they called the *ὑπὸρδος*, usually did him that good office to stand Sentinell at the doore, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much *wedded* to his *pleasure*, as to be clean *divorc'd* from his friends; for besides the feast which he made altogether for the *Women*, (called Θεσμοφῶρια, by *Isaas* in his oration for *Pyrhus*) he made another for the *φράτρες*, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings, was properly called δαῖτες τοῦ γάμου, as it is in the Tragedy.

Iphig. in Aul: v.
707. ☉ 720.

And a little before.

And a little before.
 'Ενταῦθα ἔδωκεν πάλιν γάμους θεοί.
 Neither was the Woman & her Mother behind hand at
 this kind of work: for *they* also kept a feast of purpose for
 the Women besides. And therefore saies *Clytemnestra* in the
 place but now cited.
 ἄνδρες ἄνδρες ἄνδρες ἄνδρες ἄνδρες.

place but now cited.
 'Hauñō Sēivlu πō jwēuñi Sēivlu.
 The saying *aujourd'hui marié, & demain marié*, to day Wed-
 ded, and to morrow sadded, would scarce hold true among
 them. For the day after the Wedding, the mirth ranne as
 fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the
 house,

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloaths and all sorts of Household stufte, as Spooones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restraine the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed they called ἀπώλια, (as those which I presented you before, were called ἐπαύλια) and sometimes διαπερθένια, as being that which (to speake in *Juvenal's* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur — and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glaucus*. But so with the vengeance, as she made them *ἀδωγὰ δῶρα*, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

Πέμψω ἂν αὐτοὺς δῶρ ἔχοντας ἐν χειρὶν
Νύμφη πέποντας &c.

a Eurip. Med. v.
784.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies
for a Wedding, allowing *πρωτία* for the first *ἀπώλια* (when *I. Pollux, l. 3*
the garment called *ἀπωλιτηρία* was given by the Woman to
the man) for the second, and *ἐπώλια* for the third.

C A P. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *yeare* which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *nefastous* time and dayes) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custom of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the *yeare*, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans ^a *Ovid. l. 5.* had only of the Month of *May*, (a) *Mense malus Maii nubere.* Fast.

Aa

it

• Isthm. H.

it may be *malum* by *Plutarch* confest. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be brought to bed (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the day was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might goe to bed the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

— ἐν δὲ θυγατρὶ δέσσει
 Δὲ ἐν πύργῳ ἐστὶν
 Λύσι κεν χαλινὸν ὄ-
 ρ' ἵππων παρθένας.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be borne *ἐν περσῇ* *Quarta Luna*, as *Hercules* had. Besides, *Hesiod* is of opinion that the forth day (and I beleieve he meanes *ἡνέκα* of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinoma* bird did *obscure* or *occinere* sing another song to the contrary.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡνέκα εἰς δίκον ἄκοιτον
 Οἰωνὸς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἐργασίῃ τέτω ἄεισι.

Whereas the *ἐκτὴ* *ἡνέκα* (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgement of the Goddesse: especially having *Agamemnon* too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd. — *νῦν δ' ἡμῖν γαμή;* made answer.

Ὅπως Σελήνης ἐπιτυχὴς ἔσται κόρη.

When that blest'd season of Full-Moon shall come. I doe not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous, as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unlesse it were at the full or never to be as good as it should be, except it were in *Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, & the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black & unsuitable with

with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-daies whatsoever, and the reason you have given by *Macrobius* in these words, *Feris autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: ideo tunc vitantur nuptiae, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* To whom if you object that the *Nones* were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the *Nones* Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postridani dies*, that is the first daies after the *Ides*, or the *Nones*, or the *Calends*, being accounted *atri* were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe, if she married upon the *Nones*. 'Tis true a *Widow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a custome to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgement of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affligeret*. But so much may suffice concerning the time of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

bL: i, Sat. c. 5

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly hee must be no lesse then five and thirty yeares old, according to the Law; and according to *Aristotle* two yeares elder. But according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἔτιων μᾶλα πολλ' ἀπολείπων

a Eurip: Iphig.
 in A v. 717.

Μήτ' ἐπιθίς μάλα πολλά;

Thirdly if the Woman with whom she was to Marry, were ἐπικληρῶ, sole daughter and Heire (such a one as *Aristophanes* in *Vespis* calls ἐπιγαμήσια or πατρῷον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have knowne the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him, and plead to the same; and then such Women were called ἐπίδοροι, and the whole suit Ἀμφισβήτησις, the question was wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Lastly he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of no account, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτ' ἐυδοκίμειδω καὶ τε μετὰ λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ ποισὶν αὐτῷ μητρὸν ἐπαΐων, *whosoever shall super-inducere novercam, let him be ἀτιμῶ, &c.* Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Step-dame) gave one pretty reason more against being the Husband of two Wives in this sense, by way of dilemma: you shall have his words, as I found them in *Arsenius* his Ἀπομνημονεύματα φιλοσόφων &c. saies he, Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες ᾧ γυναικὶ τὸ πρότερον διημερῶν κατὰ παῦρον: εἴτ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες μακρὸν τὸ πρῶτον δὲ πρῶτον λαβὴν πάλιν. ἢ ᾧ ἀληθείαις ὁ δὲς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ γυναικῶν ἀναρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομιθεῖν, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art a little better then a Foote or a Mad-man, to stumble againe at the same stone.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Quæ requiruntur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First she must be free, before she put her neck in the yoke. For otherwise the Marriage was counted συνοία rather than γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) κλητὴν ἢ γαμετὴν. If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand δραχμὰς to the City. This Law though it were for a time let downe by *Pericles* his example, yet it was brought up againe by *Aristophon*. Secondly, shee must be six and twenty yeares of age, and yet *Aristotle* even in *Pilicy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eightene. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young: both because ἐν τοῖς τοκοῖς πορεύσιν μᾶλλον &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make so much hast, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is * another: who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτάρη ἢ ἑξήντη, πέμνη ἢ γαμετὴν.

And another sooner yet (if I doe not mistake)

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἡβλῶν ἦλθεν, ὡς ἔστιν γάμων.

a *Eurip. in Hel.*
v. 12.

Cum ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.

Thirdly shee must be but one; and no more according to *Athenaus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; (whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum* for the present occa-

A a 3

tion

tion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best*. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandsome man. But * others there bee againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water γάρ οὐδ' ἐὰν τὸ αὐτὸ αἶμα ἴῃ. Unless you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* herselfe, though she were *super indueta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

* Rhod. Pa-
nath. us

a Eurip. An-
drom. v. 177.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the Chorus.

Ἐπίφθορον τὴν γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.
καὶ θυγατέρας ἀνδρῶν μάλισ' αἰσῶ.
*Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-mives they cannot beare.*

And verifi'd they have been, not onely by her owne example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epyrus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then *a partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Nepotolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so shee told the other.

b Eurip. ih.

a Juvén. Sat. 2.

— γυνῆς δ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοις οὖτε
Νηδὺς δ' ἀκύνει δὲ αὖ μοι δόλον,
When such courses as these are taken

Turgida

b Juvén. ib.

b *Turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde*, Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the lash of a naked *Laperous* will doe any good. Fourthly, she might be halfe a sister to the Husband, so it be meant not *οὐκ ὁμομήτωρ*, or *οὐκ ὁμομήτωρ*, or *uterina*; but only *οὐκ ὁμοπατρὶς*, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Aemilius Probus*; (whether in its germane sense I know not) where he speaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductam: nā Atheniensibus licet eodē patre natas uxores ducere*. This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenians* thinks to have been done *ἐν ἀνομίᾳ*, contrary to the Laws, and so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publike manner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him *συμῖν*, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *συνοσία*, but *συνοικῆν*, * taking her into his house to live with him, and that for a lawfull cause, (as he thought) *viz.* because she was to seek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I doe not see how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*.

— πᾶσι περὶ μίγνυ
κόρη τ' ἀδελφῇ —

When Sonne is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Sister with the Brother.

Unless you will maintaine the goodnesse of the practise then, by the greatnesse of the Persons that used it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fifthly, she must be no Bastard, unless she were intended for a Bastard-maker, and in a *Proletarianus* manner, only for breed, I mean for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better then what *Tal- thibius* once said poore *Cassandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* αὐτῶν σκότια νυμφώτεια, and the Children little better then *Σκότιοι*, if the Father were more in the dark. *a Eurip. in Troad. v. 251.*
As

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπικληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Estate: or ἐπιδοικ that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a στήλη, or a portion. Inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀσθενικός; yet he would have the στήλη, the Writings, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐπέχρυν τι ἀποτιμῶν, make over to the Woman some House of Land in exchange, and this they call'd ἀποτίμημα.

a Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortijs.

And now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month unto three parts.) or else, if she were an ἐπικληρος she might goe to another, unlesse he were able to excuse himselfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as coming frō Funeralls is accounted by^b Hesiod in those words of his.

Μὴ δ' ἀπὸ δούλημοιο τὰς ἀπογοστήματα
Σέομαινεο γενέω.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable then other, and some fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the same Poet, speaking of the fixt day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγαθὴ, καὶ δ' ἐσὺ μορός ἐστι.

And a little after of two other daies.

Ἐξ ἧς δ' ἀνδρόγονος δεκάτη, καὶ δὲ τε τέσσαρ.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the gods be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either, And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to obtaine altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, pure habere, as the Poet call'd it, in *Asinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπικληρος were overlay'd, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a Writ ἡ κακώσις ἡ ἐπικλήρος, otherwise called εἰσαγγελία, and be suffered to leave him; and this they call'd ἀπολείπειν: where as if the Husband would part with her, it was call'd ἀποτίμωσιν, because he might carry in his own house, and be rid of her company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to leave, or to put away the tother, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. Inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every on to buy his pigge in the poke, the Ephori impos'd a mulct upon *Lysander* himselfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse then ἀποτίμωσιν, even flat Rebellion, or delinquency at the best. Heare but what *Medea* saies of it

b Eurip. Med.
v. 236.

— ἢ γὰρ εὐκλεῖς ἀπαλλαγῇ

Τυνωξίν, ἐδ' οἶοντ' ἀνὴρα δαί ποσιν.

Where shee puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like, whereas the poore Wife if she be well us'd, tis true, ζελοῦς αἰών--no life like hers--εἰς μὴ--but if ill--θανεῖν χρεών there is no remedy but death, or she had better be out of the life. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, a *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatening her Husband, if he married againe, though she were dead.

a In Alcest. v.
464.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugall yoke too strait, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other judges to consider if the cause were lawful, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands house againe: and when this was done, she might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ of *servitus*, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as he detain'd the mony.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum scleragogia, & servitutis ministerio

BUT now whether the Woman reckond it sufficient Cause to complaine, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as this were many times offered. I do not stand so much upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread, (whatever (a) *Plethon* has complain'd of that employment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poore old Maid in the (b) Poet, might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying Water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too. for (c) *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-head,

(a) *Apud Euphr. Troad.*
v. 293.
(b) *Id. in Elef.*
v. 55.

(c) *L. 3. Fast.*

head, a good caveat for all sleepey Servants)

Ponitur à summa fictilis urna Coma.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the Men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too, much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poet saies of *Ulysses* his Mariners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέσι
Τόλμ' φέροντας κατὰ βορᾶς καχημένους
Κράαντες θ' ὀδρηλὺς —

Now whereas I mentiond only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing be seeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or so much as to know what was done there, πῶς ἔχ' ὁ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πράττοντα εἰδέναι, ἀπορεπὲς. It is *Aristotles* own *Oeconomicks*, at least *ἡ δὲ διανοία*, though not *ἡ πράξις* (to use the words of *Tisianus* sometime professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife; the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travell too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition. If any thing grieve her (saies he) she has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then *μία ψυχὴ*, her own poore soule: And whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part saies she

— αὖ βί' ἀν' παρ' ἀσπίδα
Σπῶσι δέλοισι' ἄν, μάλλον ἢ τεύειν ἀπαξ.

— Three times to beare a shield.

Thrice better do it think, then once to beare a child. And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her

B b 2

Portion

a *Euphr. in Med.*
v. 244. to 251.

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this she came behind her, though she were otherwise the first Wife; my Father, saies she, sent me hither in a liberall manner.

^a Eurip. *Androm.* v. 153.

^a Πολλοῖς σου ἔδωκε, ὥς εἰδέναι εὐσεβεῖν.
With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you, must goe to doores. And she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward bandy'd back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. For, saies she, he did not take you as a Captive, or so, but ^b σου πολλοῖς ἔδωκε he had something with you.

^b Ib. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electra's* own words

^c Eurip. *Elect.* v. 75.
^d 1. *Polit.* l. 7. c. 10.

— — — — — τὰν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χεῖρας
ἔξωθεν ἐπιζέειν, εἰσιόντι δ' ἔργα τέλει &c.
Or else working at any kind of Lanifce, either at ^a ἔργα τέλει the tazing, (shall I say) or the carding of the Wooll? or ^b στήμων πηχί, when they went to spinne out the ^c στήμων or *stamen*, and ^d διάζωα (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at ^e ὑφαντική, the Weaving and joyning the ^f στήμονες together, with the help of the ^g κέρκισ, (the *peecten* or the *sley* like a comb) and the ^h ἄγρυδες, or the *Λισα*, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently ⁱ standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine work.

work *recta* as the Latines call'd it, downe right with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was *πικυλτική* too, and a great deale of variety in some workes, as well as severall sorts of works in the trade; which was the cause why ^b *John* in *Euripides* when *Crensa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

^b *John* 14 18.

Ποῖον τι, πολλὰ παρθένον ὑφανόμενα.

Unlesse you will confine this *ποικιλσις* to the Virgins, (as you may seeme to have cause from the words but now produc'd:) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the planer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but *plane Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plaine dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke so well beseeming the better sort (as appears in *Crensa* the daughter of no worse man then *Erechtheus* a King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse,

Ἀυτὴ μὲν ἐμμοχθῆσα κακίσι πέπλους.

That she was kept to Weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman; and Weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from ^a *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a hate of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was ^a *Polit.* l. 6. c. 143. but *πολυχόνητος παρθένης*) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐργασίας ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παῖσιν ὥστε ἀκαλέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν, she must be forc'd to doe things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynaeconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

goe out of one roome into another: for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as well may be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogus* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children Maids or Beyer)

Eurip. Phaulf.
v. 88.

Ἐπεὶ σὶ μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπὴν

Μεθύει.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without leave, I know not, I believe they could hardly doe it without company, and the attendance of their Maids: as if they were going abroad, for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

οὐκ ὅτι ἀνατῆν καὶ ἀμρίπολοι δὲ ἔσαντο.

The Woman's owne private chamber; (*Gynaconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæcon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) διπεγῶ two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his VVords) οἱ γὰρ ἀνὰ χεῖρας τῶν γυναικῶν ἔσταντο καὶ δαλάμους κατεσκαδίζοντες ὥστε τὰ δούλιον τὰ δούλιον τῶν: the People of ancient times, built their upper Chamber for the nonce. ὧα and ὧα they called them then, insomuch that *Hesena* having beene alwayes close-bred up in such a chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the ovall fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greeke. VVhether they went up by the Ladder, or a paire of staires, 'tis not so easie to determine, as it was to get up, for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogus* (whom I lastly mentiond) had to help up his Pupil by the hand; I am apt to thinke that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the rother to the *Gynacon*, to have beene a ladder, and not a staire-case: heare how she cries for helpe

Ὅρεται νύτ', ὄρεται μερῶν

Νῆξ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμακῶν

Πόλλ' ἔχοντες ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of helpe; for,

κλίμακα

κλίμακα δ' ὑφ' ἡλίου κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd expedition, her fashion was εἰς γόνυ ζασσάσαι, as a *Theocritus* ^{a Id. 14} saies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called γυνὴ πυγύπλοσ, me thinkes not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too ^{ἀναστυφύειν} short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deale of their apparell, and the over many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promis'd a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of J. *Pollux* * his mind in * L. 5. c. 2. this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speake of this kind of things, ἔρ' αὖθις τὰς ἱδίας συννοήσω, διὰ τὸ μὴδε πρὸς χεῖρας ἔῃ πρὸς καπτεῖν, εἴτε σπινθίζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χεῖρας τῶν ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what fashion the things wereof; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the names.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plowd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) in the fact it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had hay in his Hornes. If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmotheta*, and cause him to be punished at the

C c

pleasure

* Plant. in
Bacchid.

* Poll 1.8.c.9.

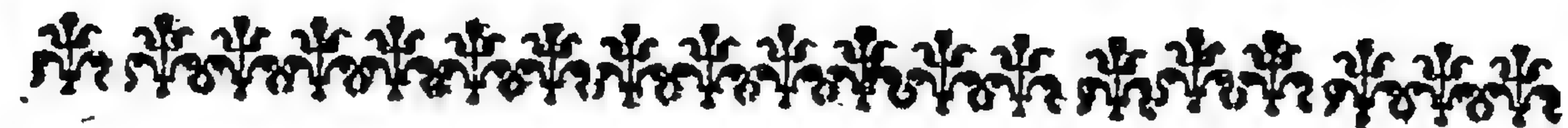
pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it self; it was called either *παρεπιμύς*, or *παρεπιδόσις* (synecdochically the part for the whole. for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenall*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat*: Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd *ἐπιμύς*. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publike use of Harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not only forbid to goe to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for *ἄτιμος*, a base companion. On the other side, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a fine. and you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much more the dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must breake the doore. For prooffe whereof, if the Adultery of *Agysthus* and *Clytemnestra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cynthia* *tenenti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus* *Liviā convertere: hanc ne amore incensu adulterio pellexit ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulsit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravish'd a young Woman, (so she were free borne,) his punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand *Drachmæ*

* L. 4. Anral.

b1 sam pre
Pyrrh.

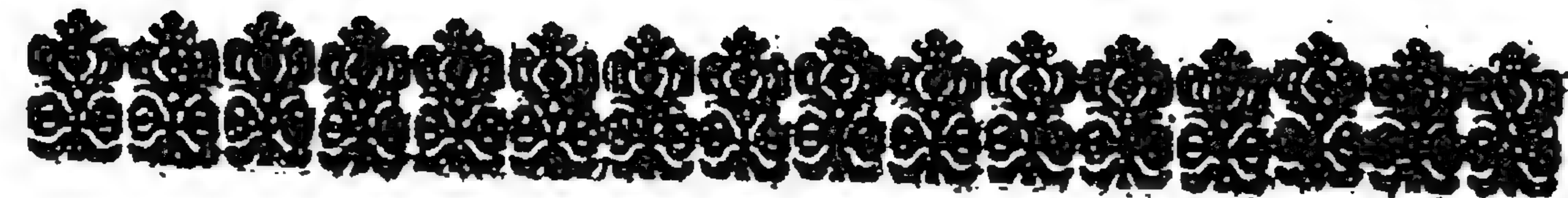
Drachma, but then besides that, he was to marry her too; (unlesse it could be made appeare she had taken something of him in consideration) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messenian* in *Pausanias*: who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worke then *Virginis*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or prels'd to death, for they called such a punishment *λάϊνον & χιτών*, as *Homer* speaks.

Λάϊνον ἔστω χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔνεχ' ὅσα ἔοργας.



C c 2

L I B. 5.





LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Buzugion*: but yet, saies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερῶ-
τατος ὅστις ὁ γαμηλιῶν ἀπόρρητος, καὶ ἀπορρητὸς ἐπὶ παῖδων
τεχνώπει, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very sutable to a *Conjugall* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greekes of *χρῶν*, and *Ἀσπρα*, and *Αἰλαξ*, concerning the Women. For as* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ἀπολαύοντα φαίνεται τὰ γυνῶνα ὅτι ἐχέουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ εὐόμενα ὅτι γῆς: as also with the use of the word *ἀρῶν* for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἡρώδη, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώ-
ων in the same sence. So *Aristénetus* in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἡ ἀρετὴ παῖ-
δων. And *Moschus* has an *Epigramme* of purpose upon *Ἐρως* Ἀ-
δων. The Latine word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

* L. 7. t. 67.

a L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Infer* to the word *βλάστη* a bud, and *βλαστάνειν*, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotles** advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day in Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to doe service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἢ εἰληχόταν τῷ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν, and his reason was, that they might not ἐκδυσχερῶν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare their bodies for a worse: as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τὰς ὠδίτας, wrestle with the *thromes*. The principall god whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them *Εἰληθῆα* ἀπὸ τῆς εἰλῆς, from her readinesse to come to the woman at a call, or a crying out:

* *Locopredict.*— *Aperire partus* (a)a *Herat. Carm. Sac.**Lenis Ilithia*—

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handy- nesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to performe it, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, quod eam putarent facile Conceptam alium egerere. saies *Festus*, an sometime, under the name of *Facilina*.

— *Facilinae templa Diane.* b

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if she did but hold the Candle to it) and so was *Ilithia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναικὶς ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ πῦρ εἶναι αἰ ὠδί-
ας, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so hott: or else from *facilis*, easy and without difficulty to be woone.

b *Sil Ital.*— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.* cbeing c *Ovil. Fast* l. 2.
likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greekes *προδυ-
σα*: as by *Orphens*, by whom she is also termed *Θηλειή* *Ζήτη-
ρα*, and *ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόρταν*, and *οὐλοχῆς*, because she stood
still ready as it were at the doore, and was alwaies at hand to
doe the work of a hand-woman — *in voto parturientis ades.*

d Id. Or lastly from *facilis* easy, and without paine, because she gave
the VWoman *facilem partum*, as he saies

Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause they gave her also the title of *Γενέλαια*
as the Latins did that of *Genialis*,

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,

Sen Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one
Timæus, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus*
neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non esse mi-
randum, quod Diana occupata in adiuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro*
gravidâ domo abesset, that it was no wonder; because *Diana*, was
then taken up in helping *Olympia* and yet this jest (as dry as it is)
Plutarch is so far from liking, that he saies it was cold enough
to have extinguish'd the flames. Last of all she was also called
φωσφόρος, quasi *ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλάττωσεν* *ἢ βροτῶν ἕρπης*, saies the *Scho-
liast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name
she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to
that of *Ovid*.

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dedisti:

Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (saith ^b *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon:
Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina. And the
Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentiū dux*, was therefore wor-
shipped by the women in travell, *quod partus maturescant septē
aut nonnunquam novem Luna cursibus*. Or because the Moon by
the filling and opening moisture of her influence, *gravidita-
tes & partus offerat, maturitateq; gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in
the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall* num-
ber, as you have in *Homer* — *μολύσκεν Εἰλιδυίας*, and in
Aristotle

Aristotle *δὲ τὰς τὰς ἑλπιόχους*, &c. you may take it to be in re-
ference only to severall names of one and the same *Diana*
and in especiall manner to those three viz. *Lucina* in Heaven,
Diana above ground & *Proserpina* beneath in regard to which
the VWomen among the Latins, used to call her *Diva triformis*,
in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas

Ter vocata audis, admissq; letbo

Diva triformis.

Diana should be a Gentle-VWomen by the number of her
names. *Diana*, I said; for that was the ground, or the princi-
pall name: all the other names seeme to be but the descant,
or so many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides*
his *Hippolytus* you have,

Τὰν δ' εὐλοχὸν Οὐρανίαν

Τόζων υἱοῦσσαν

Ἀρτέμιον.

In another tragedy *Ποσειδῶν Ἀρτέμιον λοχίαν* and
— *φωσφόρον δὲ πινθεῖαν*. *Artemis* or *Diana* stands still
the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adje-
ctives. Besides these to the Moone, they talke of other Sa-
crifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they
worshipped by the name of *Τριπτόλεμος*. *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and
Briareus say some. So many windes, saies one (a) (that which
is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But
what have the women to doe VVith the VVind? it can blow
them no good, but a *Tympany*, and so puffle them up with the
conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *A-
malcides*, *Proteclias*, and *Protocreon* and *Philochorus* saies, they
were the three first men that were begotten. And here I
must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too;
for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to them
then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards
to give them thanks for the bringing it up. And thus much
I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him
that

^a Etymol. Di-
ction.

^a *Aristoph.* in
Lysist.

^b *L. 2 de Nat.*
D. or.
^c *L. 4. de Ling.*
Lu.

that he saw *Aegystus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.
Τετρία παίδων, ἢ πρὸ μίλλοις ὄπκι;
 For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

a *Eurip. Elect.*
 v. 616.

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & factu Masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durit I conclude as much by the λόχοι θάλαμοι in *Ευριπίδης* where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

b In *Bacch.*
 v. 96.

*Ἄλχοις δ' αὖτις τιν
 Δίξασθαι θάλαμοις.*

At the time of travell, they were wont to take *Palme* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to conquer the paine, (for a palme branch was a token of Conquest) or to make them beare up under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palme-brance goe downward) according to that of *Theognis*.

— *Τὴν τεκτόνισσιν Ἀντὼ*

Φοίνικ' ὅρ' ἀνδρὶς χερσὶν ἐκφύειν.

c *De Civ. Dei*
 l. 15 c. 22.

I doe not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fanni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as *St. Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos saepe extisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregissee concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep (a) *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having child without him. I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it hapened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the building of their house (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a Pillar thereof, *κίονα δοῦναι*, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and *ἑῖς ἀμαχὸν κίονα*, saies *Pinder* of the same.

a *Ibid.* l. 6. c. 9.

l. 10. Met.

same. *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies shee,

Σύλαιοι γὰρ οἶκον εἰς τὴν πατρὸς ἀρσενες

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reason the men should beare the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the House can beare the names, and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. Names they made choyce of the best, such as *Ἀτλαντες* among the Greekes, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the figure was commonly of the worst, with a hunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*.

— *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Besides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar instead of a Statue, or the Image of a man.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as soon as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* a *Plut. in Lyc.* fashion, and desir'd to prove, shall I say, or to improve the strength of the Infant) of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphitryon* thus,

Postquam peperit pueros, lavare iussit; nos occipimus.

Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet!
 and so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I thing it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill *τὴν τεκῆσαν καὶ τὸ μνηστῆρ*, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

D d

Πρῶτον

Πᾶν ἐκ λοχείαις ὡς χυτᾶσαι δρᾶσαι
 from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Muniprus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scoliaſt notes upon the word *Χυτᾶσαι*, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was, and uſed only for the cleaning of the body) they anoynted it with oyle, kept in a *χύτρον*, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort. *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θερμῆς ἀρεωχέστες κλειδῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλαίου ἐπιπρωματικῆς ὀντος, (as the *Scoliaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of annointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed, juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhal have the word *χυτᾶσαι*, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

^a In *Aristoph.*
Plut.

ἐπὶ μήτηρ μεγάλῃ ἀπὸ δῆλα τοῦ κάλπου
 αὐτὰ δ' ἔζητο ῥόνον ὕδατος, ὥκα τοιοῦτο
 Λόματι χυτᾶσαιτο.

^b L. 9. *Dionys.*

In alluſion to this *χύτρον*, ^b *Νοημις* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἐχύτρωτον λοχείῳ. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiter's* thigh, he had no great need of a waſhing.

C A P.

C A P. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectur'd by that which *Crius* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erethide* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's* *Aegis*, by helpe whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichonius*: who being borne of nothing but *Vulcan's* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

ὅτιν' Ἐρεχθίδαυ ἐν αἰετῇ

Νόμος τις ἔστιν, ὅριτιν ἐν χρυσάλοις

Τρέφει τέκνα.

Eurip. in *Ion*.

v. 25. 6. 1427.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that becauſe of their quickneſſe of ſight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti ὅτι τὸ δρᾶν, quod est videre: clarissimā enim habebant oculorum aciem quā ex causā incubantes eos thesauris custodire causā finxerunt.* Being wrapt in the cloth inſteed of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtae* uſed the children when they * *Strabol.* 7. threw them into the *Rhene*;) or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum*.

labrum quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant saies Rhodiginus, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De Infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands, and in congratulation the kindred that intended to be at the naming-feast, sent their γυνεὶ δαίρεσθαι (as *Aeschylus* call them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to doe with us at a *Christning*. the things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepie*, whether as rarities, or for what reason I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubolus* cited by *Athenens* c. 2. speake as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and Coleworts with oyle, and tossed pieces of *Chersonesus-cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called Ἀγορὴ ἐστὶν, and so is the *Genius*, or γυνεὶ δαίρεσθαι, δαίρεσθαι: Ἀγορὴ ἐστὶν, from the running about the hearth (which it seemes was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as we may call it *Dancing about our cole fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming-feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very criticall to most things, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς περὶ τὸ εἶδέναι, and therefore, saies he. when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, ὡς προσέχοντες μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as presuming

bL. 7. de Hist.
Ani

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth night rather) because the feast which they kept was called *δεκάτη* and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said to δεκάτην δύναι or δεκάτην ἐστῆσαν: and at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the Kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Aristophanis*) I have the plaine testimony of the Poet himselfe in the same Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Pistheteros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome,

Οὐκ ἔστι δύναι δεκάτην ταῖς ἐχθραῖς
καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὡς παρ' πατρίω νόμῳ δεύων.

Now a * Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot say that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*; thus * *Leucippe* when she was bought, was new-nam'd *Lacena*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters: who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σῶρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθός or ὁ πυρρὸς: or some good quality in him, as ὁ πιστός, and ὁ εὐδαίμων, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νευμῖας. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Estate fell to him,

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*. and thus they tooke new names when they came to be made Kings, as among the *Persians* &c. or gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palamon* and *Quirinus*, & a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* *Λυσίζωνη*, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* *Χιτώνη*. untill she were purifi'd, she was as carefully shun'd, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the *μύσματα*, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layn for dead: or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint; when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash. whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, *ὅτι τε κήδεις καὶ λεχθεὶς καὶ μύσματος παύσι*. which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*: when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousseffe, to have no body come neere her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (saies she) *the hypocrisy of that Goddesse whatever she be, that shall take delight in the murdering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity forsooth, shall forbid such & such to come neere her Altars.*

— — — α βεβρωτων μὴ λυσιζωνησι φέρειν

Ἡ καὶ λοχεία, ἢ νεκρῶν θύγῃ χεῖριν.

Βαμῶν ἀπείργει, ὡς παρὰ τὸν ἥγῃον.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians*, for feare the holy Isle of *Delos*, should by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lye in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Island neere adjoyning. What day she was purifi'd in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*:

λέγ' ἡλίως ἐν ὅσιν ἀγνοῖται ληχῶ.

Whether it were at the time of the *τενάρηκος*, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end (for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were *ἐνδεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς*, when the child was a *tenne-night* old, (as we say a seven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I doe not think 'tis the tenth Month) I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ὡς νομίζετ'.

Whensoever the time was: the Woman, after she had wash'd away her *λύματα* in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband * *Pausan in Ach.* to the Nymphes, for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to returne their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls *παιδὸς ἀεισμὸν τελεσφόρον δύνειν*. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

Ἄλλης τὸ δ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τόκων.

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was colewort. *Eurip. Electr. v. 1128.*

CAP.

a Iphig in
Taur. v. 380.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurses during the time of sucking, were called *τιτταί* (from *τιττα* the same that *μαστ* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (*ἀπογαλακτίζεσθαι*) *ἑρσοί* dry Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *ἄν liberioris* * *αἰνῶ*, and to make the Nurses the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies and the streets: and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

δὲ μοι χυλὸν ἀπογγίω βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their sponge full of hony, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (and such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe.) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be nurses themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used this base employment, was faine to excuse it, by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And so likewise you shall finde *Ἠσυχία* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappines, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would lull as we call it) or lalle a child a sleepe, they used *lallare* to cry *λάλα*, or *βανκαλᾶν*, to sing songs to it. Their songs they called *καταβρυκαλήσεις*, and sometimes *νύννια*: (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occurrere ut possint leves audiendæ sunt nania*.) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

*Εὐδετ' ἐμὰ βρέστα γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον
Εὐδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰς, δὲ ἀλφειῶ, ἔνθα πίκνα*

* *ΟΛΓΙΟΙ*

* *ΟΛΓΙΟΙ* *ἐν ἀλγείοις καὶ ὀλβίοις αἰῶσι καὶ ἰαμασί.*

Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to *ἀποκαλίζεισθαι* to the child, calling it also sometimes *πρόδω*, or *ᾠδωδονεύς*, or *σμοροδονεύς* and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parent. If it dye in the time of it's infancy (before it had teeth saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne rogi*. Which practise is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to persuade her not to grieve for the death of her child; Saies he *ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει τὸ πολυτελεῖαι πανηγυρικῆς αἰετὶ πλὴν ταφῆς*. The custome of *exposing* childring, which the *Græcians* call *ἐκπᾶσαι*, with the people of ancient times was very usuall; it was exercised upon such children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moses* was used thus because he was *ἁγίος* or a godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent: but at *Sparta* I read that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them *Λέξα* appointed to examine every child, whether it were *εὐπαχὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέος*, sound or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Uncle *Aemilius*; sometimes a linke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

* *Sat. 8.*

* *Exod. 7. v. 2.*

E c

υπατάς

— — — οὐταῖς, ἴαρε

Ad spurcos decepta lacus. Sometimes a deep pit, such as the Lacedemonians had at Taygetus in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as Oedipus had, as Seneca saies: *in alta nemora pabulum misit feris Avidus* — — and sometimes the wide Sea, as Justin saies of one Habides, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem suum in mare projici jussit.* If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it *ἰς σπαραγμοῖς fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in Terence his *Andria*.

— — — *verum vidi Cantharum*

Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharum*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatum*, for as much as *succinctum*. It is sometimes called *ὄστρον*, as by Aristophanes in *Ranis*, where he speaks of Oedipus thus

— — — οὐτὸν γένουον

— — — ἐξ ὅστρον ἐν ὄστρον — —

And sometimes *χύτρα*, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes *χυτρίζειν exponere*. What kind of thing that *ἀντίπυξ* was, wherein *Crensa* exposed her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*; or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. Euripides saies it was *ἄγγον* a vessell, and that Ion the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

— — — ἀναπύξας σκύτρον

— — — ἐλκετὸν ἀντίπυξος.

Me thinks it might be rendred *area*, and more properly so then *Moses* *Παλ* can be: for first he saies there was *ἐλκετὸν* skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fastend or lock'd of one side: *ἀντίπυξ* ab ἀντὶ and πύξουθι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

— — — κέκτιθισιν ὡς δανυμένον

Κοίλῃς

Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπυξος οὐτὸν χύτρα

And for *ἄγγον*, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket made of ozers, or bulrushes, daub'd and clos'd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though * C. 2. v. 3. they thus set him out to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

— — — αὐτὸν εἶχε παρθένον χλιδῶν

Τέκνον σε σάφας ἔλιπον, ὡς δανυμένον.

* Eurip. Ion:
v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would * take it up (as they call it) he might have his *τερεῖα*, or *ἐπιθήκεια*, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand; and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*.

— — — *cum exponendam do illi, degito annulum*

Detraho, & cum ut unā cum puellā exponeret

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

* Heautont.
Act. 3. Sc. 1.

These *πύγνια*, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called *ἀειδέγεια*, as they were likewise called *μυρίσματα*; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toys (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, *viz.* *ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῇ* (saies * one) not to adorne him, but to marke him so as to know him againe, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bells were fastned to find him by the noyse, as we doe our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this in-

tent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses*;) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bread it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men then such as were exposed, as might be made appeare by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it: and so did the Romans too afterward: among whom, no exposed child could be free of the City. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, *ἐστὶ νόμος μὲν πεπεωμένον τέρεν*. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, or his naturall affection. Our putting out children to Nurse, many times proves little better then exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy: as *Orestes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Aegisthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it *κρυπτήν ἢ βίαν*; and so you might have called him *δυσπρεσβυμένον*, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customes they used in education: only, because their practise was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the severall sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. *ὁ γνήσιος*, or *ἰθαγενής*, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γαμνῆς, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. *ὁ νόθος*, qui Latine reddi non potest, saies * *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or * L. 3. c. 6. a Concubine; such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Fether, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεῖαν saies *Aristophanes*: * and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did? * In *Avib.* Eurip. v. 591.

Πατρὶς τ' ἐπακτὴ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόθαγενής

Μηδὲν καὶ ἑδὲν ὢν καλῆσθαι.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon *Homer* concerning *Tencher* b 11. 8. who was a *nothus* himselfe) being well born he must needs be lawfully borne, and so he was held in as great esteeme as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regie fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion only of a thousand *drachmae* at the most: * this portion they called τὰ νόθια, which they had in the nature of gifts, like *מנה* which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of his concubines: † Gen. 25 c. 6. it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five mine saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (Jupiters bastard by *Alemana* the Wife of *Amphitryon*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

E. c. 3.

T.

Τὶ δ' ὡς πατὴρ ἐμοὶ δίδω τὰ χεῖματα
τὰ νοθεύα;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. But the other reply'd againe and confuted his answer, by urging *Solon's Law*, which ordered indeed that, the *nothi* should *ἀστεῖναι τὰ χεῖματα*, have the estate shared among them in portions; but it must be only for default of legitimate children and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech *πρὸς Μαχάρταν*. Thirdly, *Ὁ Σκότιος* an obscure sonne, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spirius* or *Favonius*. As if he were nothing but *terra filius*, rising out of the ground like the wind; or as if he were begotten of the wind, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the helpe of a Father; like the egges which they call *σπινέμια*, made by the hens without the help of the cook. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* *σπινέμιον παῖδα*, because they fained him to be borne of *Juno*, but begot of the Wind, or they knew not whom. 4ly, *Ὁ παρθεῖας*, *ὅν τις ἐκ τῆς δούσης* *τῆς παρθένης νόμφ συνοικίης ἐποίησεν*, saies *Pollux*; A Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, whom the Husband took for a Maid. To these may be added, first *ἐισποιητός*, *ὁ δὲ θεός*, a sonne not begotten, but made, or adopted: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, *ἑλιδέρος* *liber*, whose father was *ἀπαιδέρος* *libertus*, made free: and thirdly, *ἐξελιδέρος* *ingenuus*, the sonne of *ἑλιδέρος*. Any sonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only beloved, they usually called * *πρόγον*.

* 1. Pol.

CAP

C A P. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it tooke the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of *Κυροδοτή*, by way of excellence above the rest. But how is it then that Homer gives the same to *Ithaca*: as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*. In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazuse*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τὴν Κυροδοτὴν γῆν

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures; or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* is *ἡ εὐχλω*, the best Nurse of the best, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, viz. that *Eriethonius* the poore expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgement of his education in that land, first sacrific'd to this *τῇ Κυροδοτῇ*, and having built an Alter of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other god should *ταύτῃ προσδυεῖν*, doe it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught *πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, δεύτερον δὲ χεῖματα*, first to swimme and dive and then to read; Very good method. If the Father was poore, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnicall exercises, hunting and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine * him, as otherwise he was. * *Plut. in Solon.* Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintained by the greater sort, in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their *ἐκόλυθοι* *Pages*: all such *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called * *πῶλοι*, though, I know.

know, πάλῳ, and σκυμνός too, are frequently used by Sophocles and others, in no ill meaning at all.

C A P. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione, &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborn in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, as the Scholiast upon Euripides, as the most powerfull motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with them. If a boy had serv'd to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from them, for they tyed him fast, τῷ ξύλῳ, to a block, to make him kisse the post, or τῷ πάσσῳ, to a stake, or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπαλάσσειν. Διαπαλάσσειν χαυαί, saies he in * Aristophanes, which is rendred by Frischlin, *Distēus affigēre humi*, as if they stretch him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, and armes, & legges, too pinnes fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called * τυμπαρίζειν, or τυμπαρίζου. But I think that to have been rather the stretching, or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poet speaks when he saies, * Ἡ βύρα σὺ σπινεύσται, from the stool, whereon they stretch him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. That torture of one of the seven brethren in the * Maccabees, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apocympanismum*, to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants rather than a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so Aristotle in the second book of his * Rhetoricks, saies that An-
tiphon

* In Equit.

* E. ad Hebr.
6. 11 v. 35.

* L. 2. c. 7 v. 7.

* L. 2. c. 8 v. 38

Antiphon the Poet, was used by Dionysius the Tyrant. And in the sixth * Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all feare, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ὧσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπαρίζομενοι. And so Plutarch in his booke de Adulatione, cries out upon those flatterers or Ptolomee, that even τυμπαρίζοντες, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouthes to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπαρίζου, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called τύπανα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffered, for the Scholiasts on these words of Aristophanes in Plutarch τύπανα καὶ κύβανες— saies both ἰσθίς, on which, and δῖς with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of Plutarch ἀποτυμπαριεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to returne to the punishment with the Passalus. I know the word πατάλας in that Poet, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in Thesmophoriazusa, when one kept a great deale of noyse and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a πάσσαλον in his mouth.

—ἐμβαλάσσει

Πάσσαλον ὡς μὴ σιωπῇ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had πᾶς χαλαζαί, the Haile, or the Meazles or no; nay in the Poet himselfe in Equites, you have one threatening to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mentioned by Themistius, under the name of σπαλαίνειν, in his first Oration, where speaking of a Plagosus Orbilius, that used to pay the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, παιδία δούλῳ σπαλαίνων, &c. And so Prometheus, whom
F f the

* T. 24.

the gods ty'd to *Caucasus-hill* for stealing fire is said by *Menander*, to have been *πρὸς τὴν παρθενίαν*, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

*Εἴτ' ἂν διαγίνοιτο πρὸς τὴν παρθενίαν
Γέρουσι τὸν Περικλέα πρὸς τὸν Πέριαν.*

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it unlesse it were found in the act of adultery) any one might sell his child when he pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had ben faulty, might *ἀποκτενέειν τὸν υἱόν*, * *abdicere filium suum*, turne him out of doores. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, saies * *Demosthenes*: and then the *κίρυξ*, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that *ὁ δαίνα*, such a one did deny *τὸν δαίνα*, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used was said *ἐκπίπτεν τὸ γένος*, to be ejected out of the Family, and nas called *ἀποκτενέμενος*. If he were received into favour againe, he was said *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι τὸ γένος*, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

* *Plut. in Sol.*
* *Lucian.*

* *πρὸς Βολύτον*

C A P. XII.

De ascriptione in Phratras.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the soonest, and seaven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *φρατρες*, and registred, in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in * Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast *Ἀπατρία*. Which was so called, either according

* *Demost.*
πρὸς Μακρίαν.

ing to the Etymologicall dictionary, because the sons which before might be thought *ἄπατρες* *ἔν*, to have no Father, did now make it appeare, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, *διτε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσι αὐτοῖς*, the Fathers met altogether: and so it must be called *Ἀπατρία*, in that manner as a wife is cal'd, *ἄλοχος*, for *ὁμόλεκτες*; or *ἄκοιτις*, for *ὁμόκοιτις*: where A is *ἐπιτατικόν*, and not a privative, as in *ἀτελής*, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of *Κυρεῶτις*, *καὶ τὸν κύρεα*, as who would say, a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to cut their haire. The haire which they cut they called *καλλόν*, or *σκολλόν*, or *δρεπήειον πλόκαμον*, in opposition to *πνυθηῖον*, that which they cut at a funerrall. This lock (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himselfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut of his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was sacred, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*)

Ἰερεὺς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called *κόμης ἀπαρχαίς*, the first fruits of the haire, (for the word both English, Greeke, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard *Nero* put it into a golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

If the children were of an noble bloud, they would go as farre as *Delphos* to give it *Apollo*. But if others, some to one god and some to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were gods enough of conscience) at Rome, besides *Apollo*, whom still one or other was carefull to supply (notwithstanding his own *Intonsum caput*, & his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phæbe, vovet totos a vertice crines.

E c 2

Aesculapius

L. I. EMAN.

* *Numb. c. 6.*
v. 5.

a *Eurip. in*
Bach. 494.

b *Sueton. c. 12.*
ejus vita.

Martial.

Aesculapius was remembred too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with jewels, and a looking-glasse besides,

— — — *dulcesq; capillos.*

Asart. Ep. 9.

Pergameo posuit dona sacrata deo.

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up theirs upon a Tree: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have gods and Saints enough and to one of them they bestow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe-Book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen yeares old, and the enrolling of them into the *Ἀντίδραστον χειματῆριον* at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be registred, they were *τριετῆς ἢ τετραετῆς*, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly, *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeare old: and there is my example. 3ly, It is agreed upon by all, that at the time Registring they offered up the first-fruits of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* It is all one to me.

C A P.

C A P. XIII.

De ascriptione in Epheborum censum, & in album Lexiarchicū.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, *ἐνθάδε* *ἐνθάδε*, they were listed among the number of those that were *ἐφηβοὶ* *pueres*. And to this purpose they had certaine Officers appointed to search them, to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) *ἀειπολεῖν τὴν πόλιν*, to keep Gard, or doe service in the Citty. (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called *ἡ δοκιμασία*. If they were found to be *pueres*, sound wind and Limb, and like to prove a Souldiers; they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a solemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon *Κυρρεῶτις* too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of haire too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their haire, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in *Hom. Il. 4. τὸν ἐγχεῖοις ποταμῶν*. Thus much may be gathered from *Pe-* *b Pausan in* *lus* his vow to consecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Att.* *Achilles* returned in safety: and *c Memnon's* performance of *c Philostr.* the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as* *Paul* shaved his haire at ** Acts 18. 18.* *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) the Nazarites, when they cut their haire of * consecration, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helen* in *Enripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the

F f 3

poore

poore *Trojans*, and the sad fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a *Eurip. Helen.*
v. 372.

α' Ἀπὸ τῶν παρθένων κόμαι

ἔθεντο σύγρονος νεκρῶν

Σκαμάνδειον ἀμφὸς φρύγιον διδμα.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephēbi*) they first tooke a vessel of Wine (μέθυ οἶνον, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὰ δυνισία from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poets of two severall waies of cutting of their haire, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a garden: the other called σκάριον, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a Skiffe, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ἐπιδιέτες ἡβώντες, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty yeare old εἰς ἀνδρὰ εἰπευγέροντας they wrote men; or they became *sui juris*, and their names were registred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιαρχικὸν λευκωμα, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all those that belonged to his *Demos*. It had this name λευκὸν τῶν λήξεων, (or τῶν κλήρων) ἀρχεῖον, because as soone as any ones name was written therein, he might be master of an estate himself if he had it. Besides this book, there was πινάκιον πύξιον, a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demos* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred into the Month of *Pyanepсион*.

C A P.

C A P. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumniis præbenda.

When the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unlesse he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be served with a Write τὴ κακώστας τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill, and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend else, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτικά, and θρεπτήρια, or Τρεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckond themselves so strongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprec ated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to dye before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* δ.

— εἰ δὲ πικρῶσι

Θρεπτὰ φίλοις ἀπιδόνα· μινυθαῖν δὲ οἱ αἰών

ἔπαλεθ' —

rendred by *Val. Flaccus* thus.

A L. C.

— nec reddita charo

Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptis in annis.

Insomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children *Non est beneficium, quod pascitis; sed facinus, quod negatis.* And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have found them for the most part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use among them, viz. If a Father had been any time abroad: when he came home againe, the Daughter themselves, presently fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἑταμέλουν τὰ πατέρας καὶ τὰ γέροντας saith the Scholiast, insomuch that *Euphron*, (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the Epithete.

b *Quintil.*
decl 6.

a In *Aristoph.*
Vesp.

Epithete *Λιπαροί* for the feet, in allusion to this annointing (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *shee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

— ἐπεὶ περὶ τοῦ ἡ θυγατρὸς

Ἀπονήσκει, καὶ τῷ πόδι ἀλείφει καὶ προκύψατα φιλήσει.

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to feed the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word *γνηροβοσκείν*, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

— εἶχον ἐλπίδας

Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γνηροβοσκῆσιν τ' ἐμέ.

* *Eurip. Med.*
v. 133.

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is *old*, are those of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and those to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in his roome, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his owne; Well (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now.*

* Οἱ γνηροβοσκῆσαι καὶ θανόντα σὶ

Περισελῶσι, καὶ πρὸς θῆσιν τι νεκρῶν.

a *Idem in Alc.*
cest. v. 664.

That will you feed, and throwd your head,

And Lay you forth when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neere his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will speak a word of that first.

C A P. XV.

De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate.

* *Idem de Aristarch.*
IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was *γνήσιος*, free borne: he had power * to adopt him a *νόθος* or,

or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must be first made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of *Θαργήλια* in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, 'till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans estate it passed to another either *κατὰ γένος* by descent, or *κατὰ διαθήκην*, by virtue of a will. Now by *Solons* laws (for before, their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any estate that he had which was not in controversy: but with these six qualifications. First he himselfe must be no Foole nor Mad-man, 2 No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no will. 3 No stranger, for then his estate went to the common treasure. 4 No adopted man, for such a ones estate (if he wanted a child, was to passe to the * next of the Adopters kindred) 5 Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my * author) *μικρολογεῖν δὲ καὶ, is little better then a mad-man.* 6 Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance should goe to him. And if there were more Males then one, they were to be *ισόμοιοι*, coparteners, or joynetenants. But in case he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not *γνήσιοι*, free borne and legitimate: the Daughter was to be *ἐπικληρὸς*, or *μονοκληρὸν*, sole heire. And therefore he in *Aristophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *minerva* could not possibly be *ἐπικληρὸς* to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

— πῶς αὖ ποτε

Ἐπικληρὸν εἶναι πῶς Ἀθηναίων θεῶν.

G g

Οὐδ' αὖ

Demost.

* *Demost. ad Leochar.*

* *Id. cont. Olympiodorum.*

Ὅστις θυγάτηρ ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γινώσκων.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέθριμον κειδῶν, six bushells, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κληρῶν & κληρῶν, or ἐπιδικάζειν τῷ κληρῷ. And if any one would ἀδικῶν πάλαν, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner, only first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

C A P. XVI.

De necessitate sepulture.

I Remember Cicero in his Topicks, divides justice into three kindes, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem* of the second kind of justice viz to the dead, I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care; and such a sacred esteeme of a buriall; that Sepulchers were call'd *templa*, and the rite of a funerall acknowledged and called to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the latins. In so much that the Athenians had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance, upon the carcase of another, who soever it were: he should be bound to cast earth upon it, three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turie,

—*Capiti inhumato

Particulam dare —

The Romans (it seems by Quintilian Declam. 5.) observed this

Isaus de Aristarch.

Demsst. contr. Stephan.

Acilian. Var. Hist. l. 5, c. 14. a Horace l. 1. Od. 28.

this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humum congerimus & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantum locumq, veneretur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow pig, *porcam* * *pracidaneam* (as they called it) to Ceres. But the Scholiast upon Sophocles in *Antis* gone goes farther: *ὁ δὲ νόμος ὅρων τις ἄπορον ἢ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κόνιν ἐναγχεῖν* ἐδύκεν. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not turne up the dust upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but *ἐναγχεῖς*, a *scelus*, an *accursed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, *acer* (for what should the body doe any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὸ ἄπειρα, *αἰμασμένα*, saies the Scholiast upon * *Euripides*, and *ποδὶς ταχιδέως* διὸς μὴ ἰλασθεῖν, very much feared that the gods under ground, would be angry, if any belonging to them were a bove ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then *ἐκπίπτειν χθονὸς*, that he might not be covered with the earth. Mee thinkes I see * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles*, as he was ready to stabbe him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch to be meat for the dogges and the birds. Hence surely it was; that the ancients stood so much in feare of a death upon the Sea: or a shipwrack; because of death: for there they could never be interred.

Demise naufragium. & mors mihi munus erit.

Saies Ovid. In so much that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be cast away (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. *ἀερεν δ' εἰ τιμὴν ὀπίσσω πρὶν ἐν ναυγίῳ γυμνῶν; ὃ δ' οὐ πυχῶν ἢ κηδόνος νόμος ἀδρακτίας ἀδύσσει, μὴ ἔχῃ μὲν τι μέρθ' ἀποδιδάσκῃ τῷ γυμνῶν πολλὰ παλάσιον;* Saies Synesius in one

b Festus c. 14.

* In Helen.

* Homer.

Sophoc.

one of his Epistles. Mor. over not only if a corps were not buried at all; but if it were not buried as soone as possibly it could, it was counted *μάλιστα π τὸ νεκρὸν*, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μεγαλύτερον π τὸ νεκρὸν*, that they had done them a pleasure: You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of Homer. *Iliad* 7.

—ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι πύρρον καὶ λυγρὸν ὄνα.

Petroclus is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay; and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet find.

C A P. XVII.

De ter vocanda animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happynesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country. Inso much that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the body; they were wont with solemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἀνακαλίσσασθαι πλὴν ψυχῇ*. — *manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) to give a hollow for the Soule: which they thought was still quick enough to come to them. *Pindar* saies: that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him

—καὶ δὲ ψυχῇ.

ψυχῇ κομίζεσθαι φρίξθαι.

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (saies Homer) — *πρὶς ἑκάστον ἀΐσαι*. to give a hoop for

Id. 13. Eclog. 6. every one three times. As *Theocritus* saies of *Hylas*, *τρίς μὲν ὕλαν ἀΐσαι*. in *Virgil* he is nam'd but twice.

— *Hylas nauta quo fonte relictum.*

Clameffentent lissus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret.

Doubt-

Doubtlesse they would have been glad, to believe their bodies also might be rolled under ground; into their native Country, as some of the *Jewes* doe think theirs shall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themselves, it could be to little purpose. For as I remember, one in *Aristophanis Ranis* saies concerning the dead,

οἱ δὲ τῶν τελευτῶντες ἐξικνύμεθα.

They are gone so farre (ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἵκεται το γοεῖν is used also for to dye, we say a man is dead, and gone) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unlesse you can finger the carcassee? yes, he shall be kept safe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called *Κενοτάφιον*: and to bury a man thus in effigie (as I may say) *κενοταφίζειν*, as in * *Euripides*.

* *Helen. v.*
1562.

Ὁν τιμῶμεν παῖς ἡδὲ δῖοντα κενοταφίζει.

The Scholiast upon the Same Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, *εἰδῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληες τῇ εὐκλείῃ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφέντι, χαῖσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν μνήμῃς*, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus calls this *Cenotaphium* *Κενήριον*, from *ἡπείρον* a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

— *b Tumulum Rhateo in litore inanem*

Constitui —

c Progne for Philomela.

b Virg. Æn. 6.
c Ovid. l. 6.
fab. 8.

— *& inane Sepulchrum*

Constituit —

The *Pythagoreans* for those who à *Philosophiâ suâ descivissent*, (accounting them as bad as departed out of the life, that had departed from the principles). The *Athenians* for all those that dyed upon the Sea.

Ὅς δὲ θανόντα σ' ἐν ἁλὶ κατὰ τὰς ῥαῖς.

ὁ δὲ τὰς —

saies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. tis worth your labour to read the story, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a beere.

beere; as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τὸ δ' ἔς ἀνόντων τύμβῳ, ἢ θάψεις σκίαν;

Hel. Ἑλλήσια ἐστὶ νόμος, ὃς ἀνόντων θάψῃ

Theoc. Τί δ' οὖν, σοὶ τοὶ πλεῖστοι τὰ τοῦ αἵματος

Hel. Κενοῖσι θάψῃεν ἐν πέτραις ὑδάσμιρ..

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillers and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himselfe and his friend ὁ Κεραμικὸς δὲξῃ τῷ; what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* saies.

Et sepas in tumulis sine corpore momina legi.

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & in qua in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body, were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end. viz. Violent, and Naturall. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kild himselfe (αὐτοχέρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Hel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying (or falling down) Men and Women. but especially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but ἐνχηρόντες μὲν as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If another killed a man: he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, συμβαλον τῷ ἡλίῳ πρὸνδύναμι, (saies the scoliast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he feared not if heaven were witnesse, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly: instead of showing the bloud he wip'd it off in the haire of the party slaine. ὡς περ ἀποσταμοζοῦνθ τὸ μῦθος ἐν τῷ φόνῳ (saies the *Scoliaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) αὐερρύνειν, to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιον, and συγγενὲς οὖν (as he saies) i.e. If the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so cleane, but some would stick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided Amulets and spells to keep them off: And what better thing then a part of the body it selfe? for having that in their power as a hostage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer, for love of the carriage. And therefore as soone as they had slaine him they cut off all the extreme or outmost parts of the outmost member stand sewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The extremities thus used they called ἀκρωτήρια, and so to use the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν so as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the topps of the eares, when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called λοβᾶσαι, from λοβός the lap of the eare. Though that word, & λυμαίνεσθαι, be also used for as bad usage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν; unles you will say this was properly said to be done, when they kill'd the party quite. Those ἀκρωτήρια, are sometimes call'd ἀσάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in * *Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Abſyrtes* his L. 4. being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

Ἦρας δ' Αἰγυπιδὸς ἐξάργματα τιμὴν θάροντος.

Ἡ δὲ μὲν αὐτῇ τῇσδε δολικτασίας ἰλάσθαι.

And sometimes μαχαλιόματα, from μαχαλιίζειν, the same that ἀκρωτηριάζειν: because oftentimes they hung those pieces of the body

Soph. in Electra.

* In Avibus.

* L. 11 fab. 10.

ἢ μὲν ἄλλως to their armeholes. of which *Sophocles* speaks thus

* ὅς τις θανὼν ἀτιμὸς ὥς ἀνιμενὴς

* ἔμμελλεν.

But if he had killd the man by trechery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the bloud, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not only upon men slaine, (as *Quintilian* saies, *truncas partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them outright: according to that in *Virgil Aen.* 6.

Atq; hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto.

Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,

Ora, manuq; ambas, populataq; tempora raptis

Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere naves.

C. I. v. 7.

That practice of *Adonibezek*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *ocroteriasmus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the *Israelites* were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saith the * *Scholiast*) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πλουτοῦ, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not comming as an *ἐκέτης*, or *Petitioner*,) & there set him cover'd by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθαρὸν δαυανθ, to expiate the fact, and purge himselfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or Kindred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole yeare at the * least. * *Enstathius* saies anciently they suffer'd them sometimes, to redeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χερσὶ βαίνειν, or ἰσθμὸν περὶ χεῖρας, to participate in their *Sacrifices* himselfe. But every body else (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they

Joshua c. 10.
* On *Homer*
Il. O.

* *Schol* in *Eu-*
rip Hippol.
a lib. 18.

they might not be allowed to speak to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον καὶ ἐναγὴν, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ πὺν καλῶ. The *Scholiast* upon * *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, saies, that * *Il. X.* among the *Theffali*, they used to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had slaine; as *Eurydamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thrasynus*.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulsandis ancis vasis,
& amiciendo corpore.

IT was the custome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a setting as they used to say—ἀλιον ἄμμι δε- *Theoc.* δύνειν) to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it σύγκλεισιν τῶ ὀμματος. The performing of this ceremony by the Kindred, was so much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappinesse, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to doe *Il. O.* it: as *Ulysses* saies

— ἐπεὶ σοὶ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ

Ὅσπερ καὶ θάψουσιν θανόντη—

If a man died suddainly: ἀνέκλειπ (saies the * *Scholiast* upon *Ho-* * *Il.* *mer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a Woman to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old *Scholiast* upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great ringing with vessells of brasse (*Bells*, some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblins, and Furies from the Soule. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is καθαρὸς καὶ ἀπλαστὸς ὅς μιν ἀφαιρᾷ of a speciall virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, viz. to try whether the party were but

H h

dead

dead a sleepe (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyce: as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclipse, when they thought her a sleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it.

Eur. H. p. p. v. l. 148.

Κρύψον δ' ἐμὴν πρόσωπον ὡς τὰ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ πόντου
And indeed the whole businesse of stretching out and shrowding the body, belong'd especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra*, in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, that they, having the hapinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred were

χρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων ἔχοντες
Shrowded by whom they ought their Kin. If a Father or a Mother dyed a Widow: the Childre did it. And so *Medea* tells her children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to herselfe.

Eur. Med. v. 1035.

Καὶ κατθανόντων χρὸν δὲ φίλοι ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων
If a Husband dyed: the Wife did it. Which hapinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attaine, if they dy'd at Troy.

Trojan v. 277.

Πέποις συνεσάλησαν.
If a brother; the Sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

Φῶ. πῶς ἂν μ' ἀδελφὸς χεῖρ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων
Alack! how shall my Sister shrow'd me now!

C A P. XX.

De offa Cerberi, & Nanto Charontis

Id Iphig. in Taur.
a In vita nume. **T**HE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum* Sacred those that are dead are called *iesoi* by *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themselves ἀγνά ἡγια by *Lycophon*, as soone as the body was in. Sacred I say, that is not to be injur'd, farre enough from holy, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρὸν δὲ γὰρ χεῖρ' (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had wash'd, as πύγμα as a Jew. Toucht did I say; when *Hippolytus* lay a dying *Diana* would not so much as stay to see him dead, for feare of pollution.

Καὶ χεῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐδέχθη φθιτὸν ὄρεον,
Οὐδ' ὅμματα χεῖρ' αἰνέειν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Eur. Hipp. v. 1437.

The same may be said of the graves. δυστήμοιο τάφου, saies *Hesiod*; for ἀγνά they were not, but only in this sence, that they were ἀκίνητοι, not to be medled with as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet

Μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοις καθίσθηναι —

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of Pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe, before they dy'd, were not fit to beare the name of ἀγνοὶ themselves. The whole performance of the ceremonies used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Aeschylus*) Συγκομιδή: as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of mony above a halfe-peny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) and put it into his mouth to speake his fare to the πορδαῖος, or *Ferriman Charon*. the piece of mony was called by the name of δανάκη, because it was given πρὸς θανάτῳ: which signifies the dead, from θανὸς dry, because of their dry bones. I remember the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite.

— ὅτι γὰρ ἡ Ἀνδρῶν λίθον (saies that there was a stone which the Poets fain'd to be ἐν ᾧ δὲ, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Auenus* ὅτι γὰρ αἶψα πρὸς νεκρὸν ἔστι), because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust. Together with the mony, they threw in a morsell of pudding

ding or past, or Cheese, to give to *Cerberus* to stop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with hony (so good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιτή ἕτα*. and *μελιτή* *πὲρ μελιτηνὴν ἐδίδου τῷ νεκρῷ ὡς εἰς τὸ Κέρβερον*, saies *Suidas*. such a kind of thing *Aeneas* is said to have given him; when he visited the dead:

Melle Saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam

Objicit.

Apuleius speaks of more pieces then one: *offas polentæ mulso cunctas*, and saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Lysistrata* us'd it but in the singular number

— πορὸν ὠνήσεις

Μελιτήν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον.

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custome in those words of his in pace.

ἔτ' ἀλγίτ' ἔτε πορὸν ὡς ἀπολύμεν θ'.

C A P. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali:

IF the party deceased were free of the Citty, the *καταρῶν* (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpose, washed the body: as those * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her in the upper roome. This *ἄσπερ πανύστα* (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* (as it is in * *Plato*) when he intended to drink his owne death in a health, thought it best to set about it himselfe afore hand, and save the Women a labour: *Ὡς ἑαπείδαι ὥρδς το λοῦτρον, δεκῆν γὰρ ἡδὲ βέλτιον εἶναι λουταῖον πῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ φάρμακα τὴν γυναῖκα παρέχον νεκρὸν λύνειν*. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alcestis*, when she intended to dye for her Husband. Saies the Poet

Poet. *ἂ ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡδεῖ ἡμέραν τὴν κρείαν*
Ἥκουν, ὅδατι ποταμοῖς λουκὸν χεῖρα
Ἑλῶσαι

b *Eurip. Alc.*
v. 116.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,

She wash'd her selfe in river water cleere,

In allusion to this custome * *Iphigenia* in her dreame, fell a washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, which she fancied to see.

Ἵδραινον αὐτὴν ὡς θανέμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Soone by the washing of the pillar. To this washing, (it may be,) alludes that expression of *Strepstades* to his sonne in *Aristophanis nubibus*

Ὡς περ τεθιεῖτος καταλύει μετὶν εἶον.

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead.

This worke was indeed proper to the Women; but in case of necessity others might serve. And therefore in * *Galen* you c *De Method. Medendi. l. 1.* shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poore *Theagenes*, because he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies, *Jupiter* bid them doe to *Sarpedon*,

Χρῖσιν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ —

Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose: having also *παῖς καρίαι*, bands or lists of cloth, to tie the hands and the feet withall, such as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculo obstrictus*, saies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

C A P.

H h 3.

Æn. 6.
Metam. l. 6,

* *Aristophan.*

* *Acts c. 9. v.*

57.

Eurip. v. 157.

Electra.

in Phædone.

Homer. Odys.

* *John. c. 11.*

v. 44.

Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

*De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur.
de l'Éto, & de collocatione.*

HAVING thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and this *πένθλος*: next they trim'd him with Garlands, *ἐλίσσοντες νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανός, ὡς τὸν βίον διαγωνισμένους*, saies *Suidas* as they would doe to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out: & with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him say, *πῶς σὺ καλῶς στεφανώσω τῆς δάκρυον*, how shall I crown thee with my teares? an example of this practice, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. Ism.

Eur. Troam.

v 1143.

Artem L. 1. c.

14.

— πένθοισιν ὡς πεισεῖται νεκρὸν
Στεφανοῖς δ' ὅτι σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foot in the house againe. Then they tooke him and put him into a couch or a bed (*τὸ λέκτρον*) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave *δυναστήριον*, as it is likewise term'd *κοιμητήριον*, and so the dead are called *εὐφροντες*, and *κατακλινομένοι*, for death is a long sleep, as sleepe is a short death. The couch was also adorn'd with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and flowers, (as * *Euripides* saies) *ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστύματα*, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories: having thus adorned it, they plac'd it, or set it forth at the doores as *Potroclus* in *Homer* was,

* In Hel.

— ἀπὸ πρόθυρον τετραμμένον.
This placing of him they called *προθένειν*, collocare, Laying forth (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

— καὶ σπένδοντες νεκρῶν.

* Eurip.

During the *ἐκδοσις*, and all the time till the *ἐκφορά* (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efforebatur, ἐξεκομίζετο*, as *St. Luke* saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the dore, a great earthen vessell filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessell is called by *Hesychius* *γάστρα*, by *Pellux* *ἀρδανον*, and by *Aristophanes* *ὄσρακον*, in that place where he speaks of the *λίκανθη* too, that is the Pots for oynments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum tneri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or else to make the Torches of them. for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies *ὁ φανός* was ἡ ἐν κληματῶν λάμπας. And so our Poet in *Lysistrata* calls it *τὸ ἀμπέλυσανδον*: pray take his owne words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of ointment, and the Vine-branches together.

Ἵπποδρέται νυκτὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρη γάστρα

Καὶ κλήμαδ' ὑπόθετες συγχλάσσατα τέτραρα

Κεῖ τανύεται καὶ ᾤδεται τὰς ληκύνθους

Ἵδου τὸς τε κατὰ δὲ τέτρακον τοῦ τὸ δύρας

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (verse 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any Spring-water *πηγαῖον χερνίβα* (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the doore as the custome was.

The Washing it selfe was called *λίσσιν* ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, like the Israelites *βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῶν*, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the house: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greekes too, as may appeare by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet,

Καθάραι

a Eurip. Hel.
v. 1446.

ακαθαρά γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ' ἔσθ' ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴ δ' οὐκ ἐμὲνέλεως—

Our house is cleane, for *Menelaus* here.
Lost not his life.—

CAP. XXIII

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort.) saies she

b Id. in Troad
v. 446.
1111.

b κακὸς κακῶς ταφῆσθαι νεκρὸς, ἔκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.
Therefore the next day after the Collocation, before Sun rising,
—ὡς ἐφάνη ῥοδὸ δ' ἀκλυσθῆναι.

(saies *Homer* in the funerall of *Hector*) at break of day, up the corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely ὡς πομπὴν ἐκ κοσμημένην (saies * *Lucian*) in pompe, as if it were intended for a shew. Now it was carri'd (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) ἐκ ἐπὶ ὀργάνῳ τινός, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. But upon mens shoulders up a loofe ἄρδην, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alceſtis*, where he speaks also of ὑπόσπολοι Servants (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

* De Luc.

a Eurip. Alc.
u. 607.

—αὐτοσπολοὶ
φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τὰ φρον τε, καὶ πύργον.
In the like sence he uses the word κορὸδῶν in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being trudge'd away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulyſſes* had slaine him, v

Τὸς ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς ὁ θεὸς, ὡ βασιλεῦ
τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν χερσίν

Φορὸδῶν

Φορὸδῶν περὶ πύργου—

If the party dy'd of a violent death, especiall in a fight, they used to carry forth Speares, and other armes and armour along with the corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*

—*Hostam alii, galeamq, ferunt*—

And it is likely they held those Speares at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the buriall of a Souldier, and as they did then

—*& versis Arcades armis.*

As the corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure; for it may well be conjectur'd by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife,

* ὅτι μὲν ἡ τλὴ δαυδοῦ, ὡς τομίζετο;
Προσέπατ' ἐξίστατο ὑστάτῳ θένον

a Eurip. Alc.
608.

Those that accompanied the coarſe, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honour'd very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick * person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorn'd with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walke stately before the corps, and the * Women (but not unlesse they were three-score years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πένθος about her; whatsoever that was.

* Diog. Laert.
L. l. 10.

* Demost.
ad. Megart.

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarium & Siticinum.

a See Jerem.
c 9. v. 17.
* Il. 2.

Eurip Alc. v.
430.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had מְקַנְנִים, and the Romans *Præficus*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, αοίδαις, or ὀρνυμένων ἄρχαι, as * Homer calls them; or πυνθησείας as Nonnus. And since vocall Musick might be allow'd, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

ἄνθρωπον ὃν καὶ κατ' αἶσαν, καὶ λόγους καὶ πᾶσι
ἔστω —

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, the originall of all harmony according to that of * *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoque ad se-pulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corporis animæ ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est ad cælum redire credatur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing οὐκ ἔμελλον, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, ἄλυσον δὲ μουσάν.) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing οὐδὲ ἀλόν. for else why were there πνεύματα Pipers among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them ἄχρητον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in * *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

Κόσμον ὃν τὸν σὺν ἔποςθ' ἢ δ' ἐν δούρῳ.]

I

I have some cause to think that some of those κόσμοι which they carri'd, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceased; (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if so, then those νεκρῶν ἀγάλματα * (neere the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, * *1b. de u. 612.* may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themselves.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceased for such as had more age, had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replyed, by no meanes; for

Καὶν γράψ' ὀληται, πλουσίως ταφίσσεται.

If old she die she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me before I goe any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customes used in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and first of the cutting of the haire.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and boldnesse (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their haire ἐν γένῳ (as they cal'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gather'd by those words of *Lysias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * *Rhetoricks*) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the * *L 3. c. 10.* Persians

I i 2

Perſians at Salamis. ſaies he. ἄξιον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ πάτρῳ τῷ ῥῷ ἐν Σα-
λαμῶνι πελοπόννησόντων κείνων τῶν ἑλλήνων. *It had beene no leſſe then*
deſert, if all Greece had beene ſhew'd at the buriall of thoſe gallant
ſouldiers that dyed at the ſight of Salamis. If this ſuffice not, you
may take the teſtimony of Euripides, who would have the
whole Countrey of the Cyclopians to doe the like.

— — — ἵστατο ὁ Κυκλωπεία

Σίδουρον ἐπὶ κρητὰ πρῶτον κέριμον.

And he himſelfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was
mourn'd for after this manner, by no worſe man then *Ar-*
chelæus the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtōe;
Strabo ſpeakes of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from
the mourning-haire, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*.
So you ſhall meet with the like practice of *Tellus* in the be-
halfe of *Phaeton*; and of *Bacchus* the god (as *intonſus* as he was)
for the loſſe of his wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelfe at
this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death. and
in the Prophecy of * *Jeremy* you may read *Cut off thy haire,*
and caſt it away, and take up a lamentation. Tis true, they were
to be blamed for theſe follies, and in * *Cicero* you ſhall meet
with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelfe, deriding the uſe of this cu-
ſtome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde ſtultiſſimū Regē in luctu capillō*
sibi evellere, quaſi calvitio meror levaretur, as if he aggravated
the former loſſe, of his friends, with another of his haire., what
if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſſe to be true
too) that it was a cuſtōe to cut the haire in token of joy?
For firſt among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall
find *Joſeph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Priſon;
and *Jonathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing
the like. nay that action of *Job* it ſelfe, is by *Origen* (the *Al-*
legoricall interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not
of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy. or a cheerefull patience un-
der his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their
ſquallid priſoners let their haire hang downe long, that they
might looke the more dejected, and ſo move the Judges to
pitty

* C. 7. v. 29.

* Tuſc. Q. 1. 3.

pitty when they came to be try'd.

* *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.*

* *Ovid. In.*
Epist.

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they pre-
ſently cut it. & therefore *Pliny* in one of his epiſtles inter-
rets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his
deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for
your Greeks themſelves, that they let their haire grow long
in times of ſadneſſe, may appeare by that of *Lychophron*.

Κρατὸς δ' ἀλγεὺς ἰώτα καλλυεῖ φόβῳ

Μνήμῃ παλαιῶν τημελῶσ' ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy; will be out of queſtion
if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſaies that ὅτι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς
χαρῆς καὶ τῆς χαρῆς, the word for rejoycing comes from the word which
they uſe for cutting the haire. To reconcile theſe things, per-
haps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their haire ſhorter
by way of a *κῆρυξ*, or a trimming (as we call it) was a token
of joy; but ſhaving it cloſe, even to baldneſſe, of ſorrow and
dejection as among the Jewes, weeping, and mourning, and bald-
neſſe were joyn'd together. I know there are ſome, that
thinke to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romai-*
cis) παρ' ἑλλήνων ὅταν δούλωζεν γέννηται κείρονται καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κομῶσι ὃ
οὐκ ἔστιν, that *That women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their*
haire, & the Me by letting it grow which may be likely enough,
becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſſe, love
to appeare as unhandſome as may be and contrary to the
uſuall faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing,
(and ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greekes, for Wo-
men to weare their haire long, and the men to weare it ſhort.
but how is it then that in * *Terence* there is mention made of
a Woman in mourning with long haire?

* *In Heaut.*
Act. 2. 5. 3.

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput.

Reſectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI

De ritu Legendi in funere.

When any disaster befell such as were near of kin unto them, ἐθιμίον, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἀλίτων κυκλῶνα, a Barly-mash, (Ale, it's like.) But sorrow must be more then negative: (negatives make an affirmative) and therefore, First, they used to teare their cloths & their haire; after the manner of the Hebrews, and some times to fling their vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

Κὶ συμπερῶσαι μνείων πίπλων χλιδῶν.

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles.

Fadat humi fufos —

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourn'd for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἀπὸ δόν

Κάρα κεχύαιδα: —

3 Κόπτειν (which is us'd for πινθεῖν) to beat their breasts & their thighs, and cut and teare their flesh like a Jew: as one saies

* ἀμβρύνουσαι χεῖρα παλθόν.

Making streakes and furrowes with their nailes in their face. (as * *Euripides* uses the word ἀνλακίζειν.

— ὄρουξιν ἡλοκίσμεθ')

4 To draine, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection εἰ, εἰ, εἰ, εἰ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon ^b *Aristophanes*) comes the word ἐλαγθ to be any

us'd for a song of lamentation. scilicet ἀπὸ τῆ λέγου ἔ.

But at a funerall, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of sorrow, that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpose to restrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, ne ve lessis funeris ergo habento, Let no Women &c.* Their customes they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire and it is noted by the * *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, where he shewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceste* was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy-water, nor so much as a lock of haire could be seene at the doore, as they were wont to be.

καίτοι τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ σφιδυρῶν τιμαῖ.

— Οἱ, δ' ἡ νεκρῶν πένθεισι πτερεῖ.

2 As they went along with the corps they kept their heads close covered, and their faces: as other people doe. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

— ἀνακάλυπ' ὃ κασίγνητορ ἰδέσθαι

Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπλῶς —

Be uncover'd &c.

In like manner *Theseus* (as it is in another * *Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his helpe *κατήρης χλαυδίοις*, all bemused and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him

λέγ' ἐκκαλύψαι κεῖται καὶ πάρεστι γένον.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their head, (as we doe our heads upon our hands.) So * *Helen* saies of the Trojans

Ἐπὶ δ' κεφαλῇ χεῖρας ἔθηκεν.

3 Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noyce with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to Weepe)

Σίχα, Σίχα λεπτῶν ἰχνῶν ἀρβύλης

Τιδεῖτε, μὴ κλυπεῖτε, μὴδ' ἐσω κτυπέτε.

Saies

Eurip.

Ovid. Met. l.
8. fab. 9.

Eurip. Suppl.
v. 826.

* *Smyrnaeus.*
β,
* In *Hel.*

b In *Avib.*

* *Cicero De*
Legib.

* *Eurip. Alc.*
v. 100.

* See *Esth. r.*
c. 6. v. 12.
& *J. rem c.*
14 v. 3.

* In *Suppl. v.*
110.

* *Id. v. 376.*

* L. i. c. 21. v. 27 Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of *Kings tis said that *Abab* lay in Sackcloth *וְלִבְשׁוֹ שָׂכָר* and went softly. and so *Isaiah saies *I shall goe softly all my years in the bitterness of my soule* *וְלִבְשׁוֹ שָׂכָר* though I know some translations render it otherwise.

4 When they come to the place of buriall (for I meane to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their haire (*πόκαμον* or *βέσρυχον*) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called *πένθει μὲν κεῖν*, and *σενόκακον* τειχάς (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or *τεμαῖον βέσρυχον* (as in *Aeschylus*) or *καρπίον χαλιδόν* (as in *Sophocles*) or *ἀπαρχὰς τῶν κόμης* (as it is eve y where.) All their best Locks I said; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing *παύρως* deceitfully, and hiding the best of her haire to save it, at the buriall of *Clytemnestra*: for indeed *οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνηντὶς πάντα τὰ πόκαμον τεμεῖν*, they should with it all, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or too for the action, viz. First to make them seeme squallid, and carelesse, and contemptible; whereas locks **ἀβρότητα καὶ χαλκωπισμὸν ἐμπαρῶχει*, are used for ornament, and spruce nesse, as being *πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν* (as I may say) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then, tis known that the *Greekes* were *καρτικοκόωντες*, & used to weare the haire long *ἕως ἡμιόρου* εἰς καλὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πρὸς βεβήν, saies the *Scholiast, both to please their friends and to fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it so, (calling themselves **ἀκαρπῆναι*, & such as cut it to short *καρπῆναι*) that *κομᾶν*, signifying to weare haire long, has been used to signify to be **prond*.

2 *ἢ αὖ διὰ τὸ πένθος ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὄνκερς ἦν*. To get the good will of the deceased party, and the *Manes*. Some againe say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they cal'd it *θρηνησια πᾶν*, or *ἀνταποδοῦναι τὰς ἀνατροφάς*. But why then should **Hercules* doe it to *Sostratus* he who was but his

Ganymede

Ganymede Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of cleaven daies) the Women were not to weare any *Jewels, neither **Lycophr.* was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at first were but one thing, viz. *Wood for heat and light too.) *λύχνος* **Vid Suid. in ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πένθει ἑ δέμις*, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome some doe referre that in the Satyrist.

Pullati procures, &c.

— *tunc odimus ignem.*

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palastra*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, and see it buried as soone as I can for feare of giving offence (as I told you before)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepultura.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called **Ἡριαῖα*, so called because they led to the *ἡρία*, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of buriall*. This gate is sometimes called **ἱερὰ πύλαι*, a *Sacra porte*, whether in op. a *Theoph.* position to the *πύλαι ὑπερῆδες* (in *Plutarch*) or the *χαράντιος πύλη* π. *Anaist.* (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture **I. Pollux.* phrase, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans doe) by which they drag'd the Malefactors; I am yet to seeke: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It seemes they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* * for ever) according to that in *Ly-* * *Kings and Princes are so called in Script.* *cophon.* as *Isaiah. 41, 15, &c.*

* *En. II.*

Τετοιαὶ δὲ τὰρχύουσι Κερκέρη νόποι
Or that of * *Virgil.*

— *fuit iugens Monte sub alto*

* *Lib de Orig.
Gent. Rom.*

Regis Derceni terreno ex aggero bustum.
* *Anrelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex se nomen dedit.* unlesse you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but that in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the diminutive: & so the hills must be made by the buryer as * *Lucian* saies.

L 8.

Et Regum cineres extruēto monte quiescant.

But for men of a lower ranke, 'till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went to higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

— — *καὶ θάψαι γαίης
βοῶς πολυκακῆς ἐν ἰδῶο δαίμης*

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of *οἱ Κεραμικοὶ*, *Posters fields*, ὅ μ' ἔπω δὲ ἔξω τ' πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Aristophanes* in his *Ranae*, calls them *ταῖς ταράς*, the *Burialls* or the *Berryes*. That buriall place within (otherwise called *Δημόσιον σῆμα* by *Thycidides*) was for those that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into severall fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read, That sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

In *Rhes. v. 880.*

— — *νεκρὸς*

Θάψειν καλεῖν λαοφύρας πρὸς ἐκτὸς πᾶς.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the place of buriall, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ παλαιον τὰ σώματα πένθησκόντων ὁρότερον ἔχοντο διὰ τὸ ἀπείρητα γινέσθαι, εἶδ' ὅπως ἔθαπτό το ὑπὸ γλῶ, the custome was at first to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam. 10. Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, because by this meanes the body might presently consume all away to nothing. But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well lik'd by other people. Insomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Persians*, thought it ἀνόσιοντι a thing most profane (I * *Diog. Lert. l. 10.* feare me more for the Fire then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse us'd, so as sometimes they would bourn them, and sometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τὸ μυστὸν a Grave, should come from τὸ γινέσθαι, τὸ τέλει καίεσθαι, to burne, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. but for ought I can find even in after times, among the *Greeks*, buriall by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two: as may appeare by their unwillingnesse to have it common. For they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2 To such as kild themselves. 3 To such as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, struck with the Planet (as we say) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we doe those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ston'd to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagin'd him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried *χωρὶς seorsum*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*.

Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς νεκρὸν θάψαι θέλει

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Infomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnaesia*, the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to doe it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country. and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himselfe, adding withall,

— — — ὅτι νῦν τὸ γὰρ

Γνωπίτε γυνταίτε πρὸς λελάχουσι θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐν τεύχεσσι νόμος ὁ πρὸς δότλῳ καὶ θάπτειν, ὡς γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία τῶν ἐκινήσῃ. Hence came the Law &c. But I must tell you after all this, that how ever burning and burying are so near in their sound, they have been farre enough distant in their being; at least in some Countryes. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἐπαρῆξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον εἰ δύνανται καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it. The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his sonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for the

the horses, engaged himselfe by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father againe; but the sonne being killed in the Warre he took him and burnt him; and carried his bones to his father, σπριζομένῳ αὐτὸν putting a fallacy upon him, as if he had had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promised him fifty shippes with men, sent him but one true ship, and pop'd him along with shippes and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἢ καὶ θανόν, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose, as being ἀγνιστικόν, able to make that pure and chaste which before was adulterated with Heterogeneous abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body πρὸς καθήρησιν. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, τὸ δὲ θεῖον τὸ αὐτὸ θρόνῳ ἀναφορῆς ὡς ἐν ἡμίᾳ τῷ πρὸς (how neere this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) περιέλα τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said ἀνακτιδάναι, to be made again by the fire, and so to become καὶ ἀθάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of India (πυρραυστοί) used to burne themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to aske what they would.

* 2. Hom. II. A.

Ib. 2.

* Cic. Tusc. L. 5.

K. k 3.

CA p

C A P. XXIX.

*De ritu Cremandi, five comburendi corporis.
De oculis & reliquiis.*

THE manner of burning, was to make a pile of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it one fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*,

Εν ᾧ πυρὴν ὑπὸ τῇ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἐν δ' ἰσάλον πῦρ.

The wood was not all waies of one sort. But sometimes Oake: as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορυμνὸν δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in * *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenens*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in a shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

— ne corpus sepeliret nanfragus ignis

Et collecta roguin facerent fragmenta carinae.

Thus to burne the bodies, they call'd it πυροδὸν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it selfe πυρῶν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the *Bone-fire*, and pray'd to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better. Not to put the carcasse (surely) but themselves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embrac'd it as an excellent good omen: Still there was a κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν τέφραν σὺν πῖσι δάεοις ἐχώονουσιν, * they swept up the ashes together in a heape. The bones they took and wash'd them in water brought

Il. Ω.

* *Herc. Fur.*
v, 241.
a In *Trach.*
b L. 15.

Manlius l. 4.

* Il. †.

brought in χύτρας pots for the Purpose, by the ἐσχυτείσται, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, and such other things as they us'd in the χῆαι) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrap'd them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they call'd θήκη, or πύλον, or σφεδόν.

* Ως ἡ καὶ ὅσα νῶϊν οὐκ σφεδὸν ἀμφικαλύπτουσι.

Il. †.

The vessell, whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophon* called κρωαδὸς, as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* χεύσθαι κρωαδὸς, as if it were wont to be gilded. And in * *Plutarch* λίθινος σφεδὸς, as if it were wont to be of stone. Methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζών, the life of the dead. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδρος, us'd sometimes for the chest it selfe does seeme to declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

Εν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μὲν ἐπισκήψω κέδρος

Σοῖταις ἡ δεινὰ πᾶσι —

A wish not unreasonable; seeing the thing desir'd was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St *Augustine* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora navissima juxta

Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.

*Ovid. Met. l. 4.
fab. 2.*

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times foure, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called λείψανα or *Relicks*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, μὴ πως οὐκ ἐχθροὶ &c. least they should be expos'd to the rage of too deadly Enemies. If the party were burnt in a forrein Countrey, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorn'd with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of Ovid.

Officij tamen facio parvâ referantur in Urnâ

Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia*-feasts, *διὼν * ἀγυαίων ἐστὶν αἱ γυνύμεναι ἐν τῷ οὐδαίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀγοστικόντων τοῖς τεκνοῖς*, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times ('twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

— *Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as prov'd^a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *ἀπόικοι*.

* *Vetus Gloss.*

Virgil.

^a *Diog. La.*

* *Harpocr.*

C A P. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE customes used in a cold buriall were these. (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was usually chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, *πρὸς ὀρθὴν χῶμ' Ἀχλὴν τάφου*, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place. *ὑπὲρ ἐξ ὅθεν τὰτα* and the Latine word *Tumulus* a heap or a grave. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, & a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps — *Λαίνοισι τ' ἐξογκώμασι*. Whether earth or stones: it seemes they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

Τύμβου

* *Τύμβου κατὰ τὴν ἑσθὴν*,

saies the same Poet in * *Ib. v. 836.*

Alceſtis, and in *Helena* — *αὐτὴ ἐμὴ ξυστὴ τὴν*

The poe-^a *Ib. v. 992.*

sture which the body usually had in the grave, was with the face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert.* in *Democrito*; towards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone which I mentioned, was written the name & the condition of the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse. *Plato* was for just foure Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphes they called *μαρτυράτα*, because they made known the party: as the Romans did *Monimenta* and *Memorias*, because they made them remembred. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to tye a ticket, or a note, about their wrists, to certify of what condition they were; that in case they should dye in the Fields, they might have a buriall and a Monument, according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* used for *Alceſtis*.

— *καὶ σὺ*

χθὼν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πύσσει, γύναι.

* *Il. 462.*

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked * fellow, or a * Coward, so they thought it too little * *κεκός*. to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to feare so little to dye, for saies he.

* *Εἰ γ' ἦσιν οἱ θεοὶ σφοδρὸν*

Εὐψυχὸν ἀνδρᾶ πολέμιον θάνατον ὕπο

Κεῖν καταμύχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονὶ

Κακὸς δ' ὕφ' ἑρμα στεγὸν ἐμβαλλοσι γᾶς.

* *Eurip. Hel. v. 857.*

C A P. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or *αἰδης* or *αἰδύς*, was a place for

L I

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (ἡ ἱερὰ)
(perchance to get the neerer to them) according to that pra-
ctise in Ovid.

Hand procul ege, à scrobibus tellure duabus
Sacra facit.

Met. l. 7.

Odyss. 11.

* Æn. 6.

The Victime then slaine, was either a barren Cow; as * Ho-
mer saies ———— σείραν βῆν, ἥ τις αἰείη, and Virgil.

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slaine at
the grave of Agamemnon

* Πυρρὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς εἶν μαλαγχιῶν πικρῶ

* Eurip. Ele-

Ar. v. 513.

a In Oedip. v.
556.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

Hom. Il. 4.

And such as Seneca speaks of * Nigro bidentes velleve, &c. the
reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either be-
cause it suited best with mourning: or because it was to the
black gods of the darke. For as * Arnobius saies, Diis laevi se-
des habitantibus inferas color fuvius est gratior. Afterwards it
rose to an Oxe; till it was forbidden by Solon. Whether it
were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a
spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ramme nor
Bull, nor Boare. &c. τὰ μὲν γυνῶν τε ζῶα, ὅσα τε ἐστὶν ὄντα, καὶ
ὅσα μὴ ἴσται ἔνορχα, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same
reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offer-
red downe both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the
beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς νιζ. ὡς αὐτῶν
χοῖν τὸ ὁμοίον ἀποστέμνουν, that they might not give the dead, ei-
ther that which had life in it selfe, or that which could be-
get it in another thing. Those setæ, or bristle-haires, are in a
peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαί, and the offering thereof,
ἀπαρχαί, as in these words,

— ἀπαρχόμεν ὁ κεφαλῆς τεύχεα ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων

* Ἀρξιοδότης ὁ δὲ

Thus rendred in the words of Virgil.

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setae
Ignibus imposuit—

Yea not only the beast which they slew; but all the rest
which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick funerall,
came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As
appeares by the practise of Mardonius and his Army, repor-
ted by Herodotus, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks,
and all, at the funerall of Masistius. In the like manner Alex-
ander at the funerall of Hephestion dealt with the Horses and
the Mules, and the Walls themselves of the Towne of Echa-
tana δεικίρας (as Elian has it) shaving them ἐν χεῖρ close to
the ground. And, I remember, in * Euripides, Admetus desi-
ring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that
might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all
cut.

— καὶ κομᾶν πυκνὰς

Πάλαι σιδήρῳ τέμνεται αὐτῶν ῥέβλω.

* In Alcest.
v. 429.

Then besides the victime they had τὰς χοὰς Libationes, which
was usually αἰλίκερα, hony and milke and wine; to which
they added Cakes, if the Translator render aright

— ἐμπύρεσ ὁδοσάφαι.

In * Euripides. the manner of u-
sing these liquors, was first to goe round about the grave, and
powre out some as they went out of the bottle (as he * saies
λύσαι ἀσπὸν) and then to stand on the top, and doe it there
too, as Sophocles saies κολῶντες ἐξ ἀκρᾶς &c. As they offered, they
used certaine speeches to the party deceased, such as that
was 'Ελένησ' ἀδελφῇ τῇ δὲ Σαρπείδ' ἑταίρῃ.

* Hel. v. 554.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the
dead, to be propitious to them. And therefore those χοαί,
were usually termed ἡδωτικαί, and δεικτικαί, and κλητικαί:
χοαί: and they made choyce of the most proper liquors, for
to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in Euripi-
des to the ghost of Achilles, ὦ παῖ σπλήνως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι
χοὰς μὲν τὰς ἡ κλητικαί νεκρῶν ἀγωνίης ἔσται.

* Id. in Elect.
v. 530.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed
by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore
Cassandra setting forth the sad condition of the Leagurers at
Troy, and their friends at home, saies she, Their Parents be-

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

— — δὲ πρὸς ταῖς

ἑσθ' ἔστις αὐτῶν αἰὶν ἡ γῆ σπέρσεται.

— — n, body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phylleboliâ.

BESIDES all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the the herle and the corps. And this action they called *σερανεῖν* ἢ *πύβον*, and the Garlands themselves *ἑσπας* and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only *ἡσπασμέναι*, made of a Collection, or a collection of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be throwne *ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ*, upon the Earth. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower *πόδις*, (saith * *Athenæus* :) and then the Garlands were called *πόδις* too. And it may be sometimes of *Σέλιον* or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*; there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of on that is desperately sick *σέλιον πέλει* —, that he needs *Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has won the best at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Pilostratis* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies * *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care & trouble, *ἀποχλήτε ἀμνηστίας ὁ σέφανθ' σόμβολον*. But I rather think

* L. 14. & 5.

* *Pedag.* l. 11.
6. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it *πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν ἀπὸ μεταφορῆς τῶν νικῶντων*, to honour the dead as they use to doe the living, when they won the Game. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did *ευλοβολεῖν* (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughes and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena*, when she dyed. (for in latter times, if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves), you have it done by an old fellow in * *Euripides* with Myrtle.

— — τὸ μὲν δ' ἀμφέδνη μυρσίταις

* *Electr.* v.

§ 12.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the golden-bough or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*; and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seemes that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies * *L. 6. de L. L. Varo*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees. And that they took the paines to make Garlands too will appeare by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis &c.* nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my * *Author*, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus.
& de Aquilis.

EITHER upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*; and *Isocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the

L. 1 3

Image

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σ: οἱ δ' ἔχουσιν πικρὰν δῖμας τὸ πόν
Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀλκτεσίαν ἐμπαθίαν).

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every yeare after: as *Cicero* saies, in *Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in praelio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.*

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slaine in the *Peloponessian* warre; and some. *Solon*. but besides funerall-speeches, they had funerall-plays too, ἀγωνεῖς ἐμπαθίαι. both the Play and the Feast, commonly goe under the name of τὰ θ.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, viz. that even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and foolish in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her selfe, or the * *Poet* for her.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανόντι διαφύγειν βέλχῳ,
εἰ πλουσίων τις τὰ ἔξ' ἐκτελεσμάτων
κενδρὸν γὰρ ὁρῶμε' ἐστὶ τῷ ζῶντι τὸ θ.

I thinke it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poore they have the funerall,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Lib. de Orat.

* *Eurip. Tro.*
ad v. 1247.

Prince, whose soules they imagined ὀχρεῖν to be caried into heaven upon *Eagles* wings: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

Artemid. l. 2.
c. 20.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus. &c.

Being come home, they fell a purging and Lustrating the house with brimstone; and themselves, by going through the fire; or some other lustration, for there were severall sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it.) thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slaine by *Hercules*: rounding the Alter with a Basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερὰ μὲν ὡς παρὰ τὸν ἱερὸν δῖον
καθάσαι δίκαν.

Eurip. Herc.
F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ ἑσπέρειον *Silicernium*, or circum potationem, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it wore Garlands: as *Cicero* saies, quas inibant parentes coronati. The colour of their apparrell was white: & quis unquam canavit atratus, saies * *Cicero*. But how is it then that * *In vatinius* *Homer* makes *Thetis* to goe all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourne for *Alcestis*, ἐν μαυροπέπλω σολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* καυσόλη in a sky coloured gowne. Perchance they wore black no longer, then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed againe, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἐνάτα, and thirty daies after, when they called it τριακοτάδης (when they

Odyss. 17.

* *In vatinius*
Il. 24.

* *Alc. v 4:7.*

* *Po. lix l. 3.*

they

they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their souls to the fields) but also upon the day of his death ever after; calling it *νεκρία* and upon the day of his birth calling it *Γενέσια*. The common name for all these feasts, or the common festiual for all the infernall rites, and for all persons, was *Νεαία*, usually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*; as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum when the Kindred especially (les parens) did sacrifice both to the earth, and the Gods under it and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to beare any part: as appeares by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅτιον ἐχέεις πρὸ γυναικὸς ἱσάναι.

Κτείσματα—

Nor so much as come neare the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to doe to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*,) that no stranger might be suffered to doe it, for feare he might be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the Month of death,) for so *Homer* calls the grave) to be gnawne like a sheep, by the never satisfied teeth of a hungry *ἄνθρωπος* For *πυρ* *ἑλκυσσέσθαι*, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the belly of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *πυρ* *ἑλκυσσέσθαι*. For so the *Vultures* are called * *πύροι ἐμψυχοί*, living graves: nay the Metaphore is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even their monthes are open sepulchers, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that

* Il. p.
Psal 49 14.

* H. mog.

of *Terent* when he ate his Sonne.

— *Seq. vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturne* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturne* was thought to have been said, to have eaten his Sonnes, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. *Ἄδ' ἐν ὅτ' βαυός*, saies *Aeschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἀπαυδὲς δίδς* in *Euripides*. Neither (saies a * Scholiast) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us see there-fore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed *ἐμψυχοί* to a Tutor. He that was to *ἐμψυχεῖν*, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all; or else so farre off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was *μειδωρ καὶ ἐκ* (saies *Aeschines*) and had the manning of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out *δικὴν ἐμψυχοῦ*, a writ *Male administrata Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five yeares after the Pupill came to be of age, or not at all.



LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris. De asylis & aris.



Having taken this care to see the Marriage of himselfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customes used in Supplication, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore; or his Enemies in waging of Warre. This Treatise, because of the

diversity

diversity of subjects, you have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication called by them *ἱκετεία*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave or the like) whether he addressed himselfe to men or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as Sacred and inviolable, as appeares by the Oracle, sent from Dodona's Vocall Forrest to the Athenians, related by Pausanias.

Φρῆξέο δ' Ἀρείοντες πάντες βαμῆς τε θυῶδες
Εὐμνήσω, ὅτι χεῖν Λαχεδαίμονίων ἱκετεύσαι
Δεισιζομένης, τοῦ καὶ σὸ κλεῖν σιδήρω
Μηδὲ ἱκέται ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέται ἱερῇ τε καὶ ἀγνοί.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι none might touch him upon paine of exilement. And therefore is it that Polydorus in Euripides makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

— Βάμιοι δ' ἱχάρα πέλας πάροις. The Altars are not farre off. So in another Tragedy, when Helena kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, Menelaus wondring thereat, * What (saies he) dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode? Eurip. Hel. And no wonder that they thus fled to Altars, or that others v. 805. feared to meddle with, or to slay any body near them: viz: because they thought the blood would be upon them that should doe it, yey though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the Chorus in Ion tells Crensa, the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death, True (saies she) but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter (replies the Chorus) sit fast, and if any one kill thee there

* Περὲς πάντων αἷμα θύσεις.

* Ib. v 1253.

Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing malefactors thus protected from the Law, and consequently encouraged to the transgression, were bold to complaine of the injustice of it, as you have Ion in the Tragedy, thus

Φαῦ δεινόν γε θεοῖς τοῦ νόμου ὡς ἐχέτω
Ἐθνη δὲ θεοῖς, ἐδ' ἀπὸ γράμης σφῆς

M m 2

Τῆς

Τὸς δὲ γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν ἐκ ἱζεν ἔχον
 ἄλλ' ἐξελάουεν, ἔδ' ἃ δ' αὖτις ἔχον
 Θέων πομπὴν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this privilege, but only six viz. *Misericordia*, *Minerva*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichia*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within and another without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Asylum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius* ad *Æn.* 8. *Postquam Hercules migravit à terris, nepotes ejus timen- tes insidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis sibi primi Asylum, hoc est, templum misericordiae conlocarunt, unde nullus posset ab- duci.* An example imitated by other People, almost in every country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer condition than a man. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πονύριον ἢ θήρ πύργον, δέλοι δὲ βωμὸς θεῶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to doe eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatened to doe.

Ibo Herclè aliquò queritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam— and *Hermione* in

Euripides to *Andromache* sheltering herself by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ σοι προσύσω—on which the *Scholiast* thus ἔδου- λώ τοις βωμὸν καὶ σάφ' ἔγχετο πῦρ προσφέρειν, &c. And yet all ἱκέτ' or *Petitioners*, were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of *ἑρέσιοι*, which they have from flying to hearths, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being *Ostracis'd* and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Mo- lossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither, could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*) be- cause they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτῆρες, as who should say, *hinderers* ἢ λιτῆς *supplicat*

In *Rud. Act* 3.
Sc. 4.

supplication. Profane, I said; for it was no better then pro- fanation, according to the Poet, σέση μαινῶ, the *Garlands* are *Polluted*.

Eurip in *He- racle*.

C A P. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and Men, used to goe with *σέσηροι* *Garlands* about their necks, or green boughs in their hands * *ἵνα ἀδίσκτοι δοκῶσι πῖς, ὥς ἱκέτιον* (saith the *Scholiast* on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the behol- ders. Those green boughs are called by the severall names of *θαλλοί*, *φυλάδες* *ἱκτῆρες*, *ἱκτῆροι* *κλάδοι*, and sometimes *ἱκτῆραι* for * *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the roome thus.

* In *Oed.*

In *Ant.* v.
1216.

ἱκτῆραι δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπλωσίδιν

Τὸ πῶμα τὸ μόν—

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them *ἱρεσιώται*, *vittatas laureas*.

Δίρει μάλιστα σαρφόνωι ἐσσημένον

Ἀροῦ τὸ θαλλῶ.

Aeschyl in
eum.

The wooll was not ty'd, and so fastened to the bowes, but only wreathed and wrap'd up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* (v. 31.) called it *σαρφὸν ἀδίσκτον φυλάδ'* the *Tye without a knot*. The Italians, used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

famq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ.

Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practise of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurell* or *Olive*.

* *Vittata laurus & supplicis arbor Olive.*

First because both those kinds are ἀειθαλῆς not subject to wither- ring, and therefore ² *Euripides* gives the latter the epithete of ἀειθαλῆς. 2ly, Because the *Laurall* was signe of prevailing,

* *Stat. Theb.*
L. 12.

In *Ion.* v.

1436.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies, *per quam pax petitur supplicando*. Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the knees of the man whom they Petition'd, or of the statue of the god, just as * *Lucretia* did *πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λαβόντα*. But if hopefull; the hands. *ἢ ἐξ ἑκαστοῦ τῶν θεῶν χερσὶς διζών*. And if confident; the chinne, and the cheek, *ἢ πρὸς * γναίον*. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *νεμ.* (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prayes for a Gale of successe for the *Ægineta*) that when they desired the parties consent, they touched the head to have at annuere: when his help, his helping hand; when successe, the knee. The Last I know no great reason for, but history enough, even from the *Naturall Historian* himselfe. *Hominis genibus quadam religio inest observatione gentium; hac supplices attingunt ad hac manus tendunt, hac ut aras adorant*. All his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossâ, ceu jugulo, spiritus fugiat*. And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lira*, the Petitioners gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* *ὅτι αἱ περὶ αἰ πῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γράμματα γράφεται*, because Judges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, *Κύρου κατεπίβητ' ἢ χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν*. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The old glosse calls it *οἰλήμα βασιλικόν, ἢ ἀποστικόν βασιλέως*. I have read of a kisse of the hand when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in * *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, nescio. Si deos salutas, dextero vortum, censeo*.

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

* *Dion. Halic.*

l 4.

b *Soph. Oed. T.*

* *Eurip. in Heracl.*

Xenoph. l. 7.

* *In Gurculi*

fire whither they presently ranne, when they came to any strange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his oration for his house, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus unicujusq; civium. Hic ara sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacre religionis ceremonia continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit*. When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournfull posture as might be; they need not open their mouths for pity; neither was it the custome so to doe. For those actions speak loud enough; and an eye would serve for hearing.

Τὸ δ' ἀνα, καὶ ἀναυδὶ ἐρῶσι δ' ἰσχυροί.

Ἰζανον &c.

This was the * practise of *Ulysses* at the house *Alcinous*. *L 4. Argon.* and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, *ταῦτ' ἔτι καὶ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνδρῶν ἡγεμῶν ἰκέων τῶν Μολοσσῶν*, the only way in use among the people to obtaine a request. ** Odysse 7. Thyciddid.*

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, that their desires might be crowned with successe.

* *Πάντας δ' βαμὲς οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτην δόμους*

Προσηλθε καὶ ἀξέστεφε, καὶ προσέξατο

Πρόσθωπον ἀποχίζουσα μερσηνῶν ὀφθλῶν.

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their armes right toward heaven, as * *Helen* saies

— δὲ δ' ἄς ὠλένας πρὸς ἑρμῶν.

** Πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν.*

But to wrest their hands as farre as they could upon their wrists. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had ty'd him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with bended hands like Women and Children.

* *Eurip. in Acleſt.*

* *Eurip. He. len v. 1100.*

children. *Τυτακονδουσις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.*
 Now sometimes, if they obtained their request and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. *ἐὐκταῖα*, or *χαρισία*, *vota*, *free-will offerings*. Services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

—* *Cenao sacra parabat.*

Vota Jovi— 2ly τὰ Ἀπὸ μαρτίας, such as

were imposed, and commanded by an Oracle.

—* *Εὐκταῖα παῖν ἢ πὸ μαρτίας πνός.*

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1^o *ἐν ὑπογῶνι* to the gods under ground, and that *ἐν ἔχρῳ* in a ditch dig'd, or plow'd up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also *ἑῶα* Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the 2^a Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly *Τοῖς ὑδαίοις*, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. and 3ly *Τοῖς ἐγγύοις*, to the gods above ground, *ἐν βώμῳ*, upon an Altar rais'd up high from the ground, which the Latines therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks *βῶκος ἱερὸν*, and *καίαις ἕρκος*, as if it were a *werke*, *val-lum*, or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt *βωμός* and *ἐχρῶν*, is set downe by the Scholiast on

Euripides

* *Euripides* thus *βωμός* is an Altar built up high with an ascent of severall steps *ἐχρῶν* is as it were one step it selfe, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (just as they made their *Λάκκοι* ^a wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the divell) The occasion given him to make this distinction, was the words *βωμοὶ ἐχρῶν* in the Author: whereupon he notes that *ἐχρῶν* was there used in a large sence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *cavities* in the top of the *βωμός* for the fire. At the making of a *βωμός* (and so at the making of a Statue to be worshipped) they had a custome *ὁσπεῖων ἐφηνάινων χύτρας ὡς πομπὰ δειπῶν*, for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the

^b Schol in *Aristoph.* in *Pluto.*

— τὰς χύτρας αἷς τῷ θεῷ

Ἰδρυσόμεθα, λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇς φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called *χῶμα* or *tumulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and bloud tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often * *κυκλοπερὶς*, round: as the Theatre, the market-places, & their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* & *high-places* (so often objected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon those words of * *Sophocles*, τῷ Οἴῳ ζηνὸς ὑψίστον πᾶρον &c. *πᾶν ὃ ὄρεσ τῷ Διὸς ὀνομαζήτω ἐπὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψέει* ^a τὰς δυοῖας *ποσειδῶν* τὰς *αἰγῶν* αὐτῶν, every *Mountaine* was called by *Jupiters* name, or consecrated to *Jupiter*, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestriall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) *ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἁβαν*, *holy and untroden*.

N n

3ly

* *Ovid. Met.*
l. 9.

* *Sophoc.* on
Trach.

^a Schol. in
Arist. in *Avib.*

^b *Soph.* in
Trach.
^c *Eurip.* in
Herac.

* *Odyss.* 5.

* In *Trach.*

* Pindar.
1stb. Δ.

* Schol. in
Eurip.

* Suidas.

3ly In respect of time, some doe say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, * ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν in the evening; and to others in the morning.

Lastly in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ζῶον of living creatures, properly called θυσία or else of things without life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of χοῖν. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγὰρ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀκαπτεθυσίαι, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoake, or * ποσειδ θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ἐντελής θυσία, a whole burnt sacrifice. Sometimes greater then a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a πρηνὺς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding — — — — — ἐκατὸ μύρια. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were rob'd of their due: as it seemes they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatening to complaine of one that did so,

* Καὶ τὸ φερέω τῶν ἀντιπύλων
ἀδικατέυτας τῶν δῶν ἐν
ἐπὶ ἔχοντα καλίας

* Aristot.
in Equit.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

* Hesiod.
* Ep. ad Heb.
6. 16.

* Idem. in
Theogon.

Οὐρανὸν an Oath, (the Son * of *Eris*, and yet the end * of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μίγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods: or of the gods themselves, by the *Strygian Lake*.

αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔθνη δῶν μίγαν ἐμμεναι ὀρκον.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὀρκὸς an oath, from *Orcus* Hell. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Stryx*, and his Sons against the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* saies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworn false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Stryx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he sware, as *Minutius* saies, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus poenam præsens perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these waies, was properly said to ὀμνέειν, and to yeeld himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if the swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζεῦ Ἀγέλαε, καὶ ἀλγεῶν πατρὸς ἐμῶν

By *Jove*, and the sorrowes of my Father.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*; and by my Lady *Diana*, as * *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τῶν Διώνων Ἀρτέμιον, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the men were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὀρκιῶν with three names) viz. Ἰκίον, Καδάριον, and Ἐξακισιέον. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it doe not appeare, (as some say it does in the word *jusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poet, that saies

— Ζεῦ αὖτ' εἰς ὄρκον

ὅρα τίς ταμίαν τεύεμεν.

But so farre were they from being contented to sweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only, any other of the gods, but any of their own men lately dead, and thought to be deified, did

N n 2

serve

Eurip. Med.
v. 170.

serve the turne : as when *Demosthenes*, swore by *τὰ ἐν Μαρμαράσι*, those that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much hast or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever him pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, *ὅμνυμι ἢ τινὰ τῶν θεῶν*, as we say, *Ile lay you what you will*. This forme you may find used by *Plato* in *Phædro*, and by *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of * *Euxithus* to *Pythias*. Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant. And sometimes by all their twelve gods, (as the *Lacedæmonians* did by their two *τῶ Σιῶ Castor* and *Pollux*) * *μὰ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν* — by the whole jury of the gods, (neither honest nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Deos consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times againe, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place where in they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath *τῇ ᾧ Ἑρμῇ ἢ Ἀργεῶν*, by *Mercury*. But then you should have some that out of meere *deisidamony*, would say no more then *μὰ τὸν*. By *Ἑρμῆ* *ἐνλαβείας* *χάρι* *ἐπινομιζουμένοι*, with a * religious *aposiopesis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it selfe, * *μὰ τὸν ὅρκον*. *νῆ* or *μὰ* with *ναὶ* before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and *μὰ* for a negative.

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE customes in taking a Great oath, if it were in a publike manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were these. The gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo*

* L. 2. Ep. 2

* Aristoph. in Equest.

* Aristoph. in Ran.

* Pind. Nem.

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* *χῆρας* *Ἀντίνοιοι*. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we doe upon the New Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargaine or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they layd their hand, upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in * *Euripides* demanded of * *Helena* besides * *Helen* v. 834. the words of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ τοῖς νῦν, δεξιᾶς ἐαυτῆς δίχα.

2ly To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of one of these three beasts, *καί σους, κειός, and τρώγες*. *Arist* in *Lusist*. a Boare, a Ramme and a Goate: or all three, and of every sort one or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to doe of the three sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*.

— * *λαίμυες* *σφίγες* *σφίγων* *μύλων* *πεμῶν* which they called * *Eurip. Supl.* *υμλοσσεαχίν*. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut v. 1200.

out the stones (*ὄρεθ* & *ὄρχες* are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly called *πρώας*. Perhaps they used to sacrifice Pigges chiefly (as the Romanes did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather then any other in swearing too, since there was so great account made of it in other businesse, as solemne as that. For i. *Jupiter* was nurs'd by a Sow, (say some) and conceal'd by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initiation without it. 2ly *Varro* * saith, *pecoris immolandi initium* * *De Re Rust.* *sumptum a suillo*: that it was the first beast that was Sacrificed. which made some thinke that *ὄς* was so called, *quasi ὄς*, and *Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, (or imployed to a sacred use,) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was *Clem. Alex. in Strom.* wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be eaten

* *Arestoph.* in *
Lufist.
 * *Eustath.* in
Il. γ.

eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the * ground, or else threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnon*s.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

* In *Avib.*

* *V.* 1025.

Mικρός ὄρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their gods were hardly so much) such as *per Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, *κύνια* or *χῆνα* as the *Socraticks* did, having that practise commended to them by their own Master: who as it is in the Scholies upon * *Aristophanes* in his twelfth Book *ἡ κεντικῶν*, had told them that *Rhadamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbid them to swear by the gods; but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as * *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides*.

— καὶ πρὸς χθονὸς ὀμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.

* *L.* 2.

Which was the reason (saies *Athenens*) first, why they accounted the head *ιερόν*, holy and Sacred. 2ly Why they did *κατακνέειν τὸν μηρὸν*, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eat of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly Why they used this oath but seldom, accounting it *ἀγρὸν ὄρκον*, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by his head, and not her own. *Αλλ' ἀγρὸν ὄρκον σὸν κεφαλῇ κατώμωσα.*

Eurip. in *Hcl.*
v. 841.

The

The Customes used both in the Little and Great oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (*μυρδον* they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* * took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *τὸς αὐτὸς ἀνόχως τῷ ἀκαρτήματι ἐν ταῖσι καὶ ἀλγεῖν*, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the paine. Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: & *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea should the Iron without swimming.

* *Schol Eurip.* in *Hcl.*

— καὶ αἰχμὴς τὴν αἶναι * *Callimach.*
αἶχμας ἢ ἂν αἰ μυρδόν. Sometimes (as I have known Boyes doe among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swamme, and the water could endure it, he swore true; but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediatly without more ado. And this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adrastus*, and the *Argivi*, for amity and League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὄρεον, καὶ πυρήια δ' Ἑλλάδι

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his 8th book de *Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes ammoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of Whore-

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to stand in water up to the shinnes, with the table about her neck. If she were chaste, and had sworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (saies he) the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table; least so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun and the World in the face.

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conscience of swearing aright, he was counted religious indeed. In somuch that εὐορκος, was commonly used for εὐσεβής,

Οὐδὲ τις ἐυόρκος χάρις ἔσται ἔτε δίκαιε. in Hesiod.

* In Plut.

and ——— ἢ τι χάρεις εὐόρκος εἴποις. in Aristophanes. Whereas on the other side, when they expressed a very wicked man, they made use of the word ἐπιόρκος perjurious. And therefore Aristophanes (in nubibus) speaking of Jupiters lightnings and thunderbolts, which some said, that they did more hurt to the wicked then to others, saies he εἴ πορ βάλλει τὸ ἐπιόρκος, if perjur'd men are only lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poore Oake tree is so often hurted & γὰρ δρὺς ἐπιόρκει since it can never be perjur'd. Such as were common & customary swearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδύηοι from Ἀρδύη (saith Hesychius) the place where the oathes used to be administred. Now for the punishment of such vile persons, they supposed the furies every fifth day to have a visitation, & to walke the round, for no other purpose: according to that of * Hesiod.

* In Dicb.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ γὰρ φασὶν εἰννυῖαι ἀμυρολόγειν
Ὀρκὸν τιννυμένας —

and

and therefore Agamemnon when he swore that he never had to doe with Briseis, called the Furies to witnesse too, as well as the Earth and the Sun.

—Ερινυῖες αἰὶδ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

Ἀνδράπαυς πίνυμι, δαίς κ' ἐπιόρκον ὁμόσῃ

Nay in some places, the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne and save the furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at Palice a City in Cicily, there were certaine crateres or fonts, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of Controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false neere these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the image of Jupiter Ὀρκιόχτης, πάντων ὑπὸ στα ἀγάλματα διδόντες ἐκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the most dreadful manner of any viz. with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certaine Elegiacall verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst to invoke that god in falsehood. All this moved the Lacedemonians little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

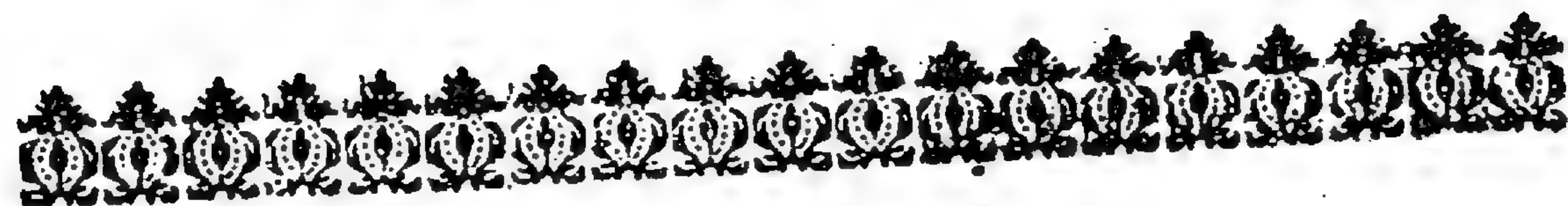
Pausan. in Eliac.

Οἷσιν ἔτε βαυνοῖ, ἔτε πῖσις ἔθ' ὄρκῳ αἰνεῖ.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of Lysander, one of their own generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χεῖρας πῶδας μὲν ἀσπραγάλοις, πολέμους δ' ὄρκοις, fallere oportere pueros a-
stragalis, hostes autem iuramentis.

O O

SECT.



SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leschis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

V Hat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable, and so he died) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as merry as a Greeke. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beasts. For the first you may heare it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δύνησμαι ποσά τινα ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ πᾶντοι πυχάνουσιν ἐχθροὶ, διὸς ἐκ αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ χροὶ φίλος εὐρήσει. How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else. For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the house for killing a Sparrow which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter. Ὡς ἐκ θοῖα δ' ἐλάττω,

a Phoc. cod.
1591.

tu. (saies he) as if he had not done righteous things. ἐχ' ἐρέθ' ἔχ' ἐν τ' δ' ἰταμώτηι & τ' ἐρ' παρ, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was ἀπ' ἀνέμοιο. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appear'd either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse. For there is ἐναχὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*, good cheere in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα eating of words, *Plautus* comedere sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they prated so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογῆσιοι (as the character termes them) so employ'd ἐν τῷ σπαίρειν τοὺς λόγους, in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either to heare or to tell some new thing, * that I wonder with what face, they could call St. Paul Σπρμολόγον. Though I know some doe rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν to gather, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τὸ Σπρμολόγους to be τὸ πᾶσι παρ' ἐμπορίας καὶ παρ' ἀγορῆς διατείνοντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ πορτῶν διαπίπτοντα ἀναλερομένους, such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up. The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort: or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos*. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they call'd Λέχαι: καλεῖται λέχαι saith *Enripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέχη too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κυριακή λαλία used by *Polybius*, i.e. Barbers talke, (as we say) *Like a tooth drawer*.) But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme themselves

Theophr.

* Act. 17. 21.

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod* 1. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον θῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (saies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἀσυστα λῶ, καὶ λέγας ἐκείνων. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.
 Οὐδὲ θέλεις εὐδεν χαλκήτεον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
 Ἡέπου εἰς λέχλῳ.

II. Θ.

The discourse was for the most parte de *Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or de *Gerris Siculis*, childish & Idle, well besitting such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λέχαι which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of Λεχηκόριος (so saith *Suidas*; but it should be rather Λεχηνόριος, saies *Meursius*.) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the day time: and sometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst themselves, was anciently, but once a day at supper (as it was with the Romans.) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in severall places) it is not easy to determine. Some say, there were foure meales a day, viz. 1. Ἀκρότισμα or διανησιμῆς, the *Breakfast*. 2. Ἀριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δείπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. Δόρπον, the *Supper*. Just so many *Atheniens* has, but in this order, viz. 1. Ἀκρότισμα. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Εσπέρισμα, or (*Vesperna*) 4. Δόρπον. Others make but these three. 1. Ἀριστον. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Δόρπον. You see that Δόρπον, is the last meale still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after Δορπιστὲς supper time, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came to late, they called it παραδειπνεῖν, or παραφωεῖν. Which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish-market, and therefore termes those, whose bellies had no cares, but for the Bell, καὶ δῶνος ὄξους ἀκρόντας.

In Vesp.

'Sympos c. 4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with others, was when they kept a feast. And thus to spend their mony, was especially called ἰναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: and the merriment it selfe, by the name of ἡβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the gods at a feast; and from whence ἐφίβος came to be used for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three kinds, 1. Ἐργασίη 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπνῆ. Ἐργασίη, otherwise called συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἦγυν καὶ καταβολῆς καὶ δαπάνης πολλῶν πνῶν, was when they joyn'd or club'd for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his part, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his pawne, or his earnest with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*. And sometimes any other thing: which he that laid out the mony for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or doe what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὥς ἂν ἰδόντες ἐδίοντες ἔλασσε, was because every one brought his own provider with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδαιμοι *Sodales*. Sometimes they call such a feasting κατάβολον, from joyning as we say, or clubbing, or casting every one his lot into one purse. καλέουσιν κατάβολια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδοντες δαπάνῃ συμπόσια ζῶσιν, saies *Tzetzes* upon *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ ποιεῖν δείπνον, from ποιεῖν, because the charges came scattered, or sown by severall hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ὁ θιάσος (they say) has been used for the same, θιασῶται for the company.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a briefe and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μηδὲ πολυξείνῃς δαίτῃς δυσπρόθυμῳ ἔῃ
 * Ἐκ κοινῆς παλίστην ἢ χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there

The charge the least is, and the most the chere.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very wedding dinner, in the manner of an ἐργῶν; and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be δεινόσιτος, (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier that goes a Warfare at his own cost.) This kind of feasting (I thinke) may very well be named πανδαπία, for * that is either when there is meate of all sorts, or when is it brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνῃ (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λατύνειν the lapping and tipling in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in companies; ὅτι καὶ εἰλας, ἢ ὅμοῦ ἐλέμνοιο ἔπρον, or 3. From εἶλαι, the vertigines or rounds used in dances, * εἰδαὺν ὑφ' ὅσων εἶλαι. The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπινάται. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωτίτιδες, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very neare friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his book: *Nam neq̃ in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq̃ sedet nisi in interiore parte adit̃, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an δινόπης too, to see how oft, and how much every one dranke. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀσωτῶν or intemperate; he was to be punished by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μικροτεράν-
 ζες

a In Crass.

* Schol in Aristoph. Pace.

* Pindar.

ζες, and φυλακτοῦρας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figures, and cummin-cutters as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (σμενὸν καὶ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in * L. 4. Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was; the Last indeed very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a peice of the victime.

— καὶ τὸ δ' οὐτάς

Ταῖς Νύμφαις. Μέρσονι καλὸν χάρις αὐτίκα πέμψον.

— as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsen* too.

C A P. III.

De more salutandi, Symposiarcho, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHen the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a pot, and kisse them; and such a kiss as this they called χύτρα a pot. The fashion of kissing the lipps was but of latter daies, and osculum may be osculum upon any thing so it be from the mouth. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body as *Xenophon* desired to doe to *Ion*.

ὅς τις χεῖρας φίλημαί μοι σῆς, σώματος τ' ἀμφὶ πύργας.

Eurip. Ion. v.

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word ἀσπασαῖς used to signify to Salute, does properly signify to embrace, as being derived
 518.
 * On *Aristoph.*
Plut.

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθῶν παῖδας εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἢ πρὸς. The compellation to such as they respected was usually τίμιε, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather than Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.
 —ὅς ἐστιν ἡμίτις τίμιος γὰρ αἶρε.

Eurip. in
Supl.

* Vesp.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the household-stuffe, & the like, according to his instructions in * *Aristophanes*.

Επειτ' ἱπαινέσθ' ἅν τι καλὸν ἔσται
 * Οὐδὲν δέσται—

* Pollux. l. 2.
c. 1.

The *δειπνοκλήτωρ*, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for *συμποσίαρχος* the *Master*, was many times no more then a Master-Steward, or * *συμποσίης ἐπιμελητής* the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his *γεγραμμένον* brought him in by the Cooke i. e. a note containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiprator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be *Βασιλεύς* King: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes proved too *tyrannicall*: as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow *πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖναι ἢ κεφαλῇς* to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.

C. 8.

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincence and Myrre upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the mirth, (*ἰσθῆναι* for * *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods: to whom, before they ate any thing themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

—ὅς ἐστιν πρὸς ἑλπίδι θυλάει.

The

The Guests before they sate downe, used to crowne their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle. for so I remember the bold ghuest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. —ἐπεὶ δὲ κεῖται μυρσίνοισι κλάδοις. bound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to secure it from aking. and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to retaine the heat of the Wine. neither did they crowne their heads only, but anoint them too, as if they had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so says *hee* in *Vespis*.

—γυμναστικῶς

* Ὑγρὸν χιτῶσιν σκαυτὸν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

—habent undæ mollia fæta comæ.

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether; or to open the pores, and let them out as soone as they came. for the same end was it, that the hearb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the Egyptians. and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow neere it. which antipathy (they say) has been in it, ever since * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting downe all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenness, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggys, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*. so called quasi *Κορμύβλη*, from *Κόρμι*, or *Pupilla* the Apples, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which 'tis thought to be hurtfull.

* αἶψα. On Ari-
stoph. in Equit.
Act. 1. Sc. 3.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat. that before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας: the other they call ἀντίπλυνσι.

P p

Their

* Athenæus
DN

Il. 10.

* Pell. 6. 2.

* Aristoph. in
Eq.

* Il. 10.

Their posture at eating was lying upon κλίναι beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψιδος a mast * close by , which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλίναι were usually covered with skinnies : according to that in the * Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

Ἐγχευε δὲ δὴ τὰσι βύρπαις ὄμιθ.

And sometimes with Tapistry , for the better fort: for with such Achilles his Embassadors are entertained in * Homer,

—τάπητά τε πορφυρεῖα

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbows. And therefore Silenus, in Euripides, bids Cyclops (when they sate at meate upon the ground) ὅς τ' ὅ τ' ὄν ἀγείνα ἐυρύθιαις , to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a σπῆνυς , or a foot-stool : such a one as Juno would bestow upon Somnus for the same use.

Τῷ κὰν ἐπαχέης λιπαρὸς πόδας εἰλαπνάζει.

And yet I remember one in the Poets Nestor, asking how he should sit, was bid ῥάγ' ἐκτείνεν , to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily Τρίπους. Unless the man were of a higher stomach then he that said, Sit mihi mensa tripes : for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπιθήμια upon it, called ὄλυνθ (in imitation of the Τρίπους at Delphos) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion : so as not to have any uncivill or profane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies Synesius) it is holy and consecrated to Jupiter φίλιος, and ἕμιον. Which gave occasion to that expression of Demosthenes Πῶς δ' αἰεὶ πατρὸς πίττειν; αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. And to Juvenals, reverentia mensae. The * first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed Terentius his sonne, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

* Π. Ὀδυσσ. Sat. 2.

Paus. in Phoc.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maists and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσται, people employ'd of purpose to gather them. There was no *cereale solum*, in those daies, no feare of *mensas confumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of later daies, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * A. Gellius saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of Oaken boughes, *quoniam cibus victisq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit*. In remembrance of their oaken diet. After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corne was the * first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as b Suetonius saies, *decimatis hordeo parvit*. Their way of using corne at first, before that mills came up (ὁι μύλοι, said to be first invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: & then pinse to beat it, and knead it into hard lumps or loaves. Those that did this the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *piniores*, bakers. We read of ὅτ' ὅτ' parched stuffe among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usuall dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenaeum* with little paine, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loath'd to eat it, as much as *Pythagorean* could to eat a beane: and thought that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devoute that, from which

Viig. Aen.

L. 5. c. 6.

a Artemidor.

L. 1. c. 71.

b In Aug.

c. 24.

Serv. ad Aen.

1.

2. Sam. c. 17,

v. 28.

* In Trachin.

which all the *sences* had their life. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine*, might not be in their mouthes to *speak* it, as well as to *eate* it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow* of his head.

Κόμης ἢ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκβαίνει μέτω.

Κεῖται—

Hecuba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ὅτεων ῥαγέντων φόνον, adding withall ἐν αἰχμῇ μὴ λέγω with reverence be it spoken.

But as for the Entralls, ἡλκῦτες, no dish so common as that: insomuch that you should have some covetous fellowes make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἑλκον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood: or of brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke*; which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphietyon* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphityonicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenais*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physician, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Read-sea* into Greece; the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead-drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned againe, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, περιπαῖν ἢ ἀλυπον ἔχον σπόλυσιν, not withstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the reason that at the first bringing in of the μικρασμένον, or mixed

* L. 15.

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember δὲ Σωτήρα, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the mixture. To which they added the health called διδὸς Ολυμπῆ, if the feast were a *victors* feast; and ὠραία χάμυ, if it were at a *Wedding*: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator* — ἐκ διδὸς σωτήρος

Σπονδὴ τεῖτε κρατῆρας.

Presently after meale came in ἀκραπὴν the Wine in *puris naturalibus* whereof (it may be) ὠρέπομα, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first *tast* before they went to eating used to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the good *Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and so to drinke it ἀπὸρροεῖν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering: as he saies Σπονδῶ λαβε, καὶ σπῆσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμον ἀγαθέ. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαίμονισαὶ for ὀλιγοποτισαὶ, *little drinkers*. The last health of all, which they drinke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames — Ἀργεῖφόντι

Aristoph in Eq.

* In Vesp.

Οἱ πυμάτωσιν ἐνδεσπον.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenais*) δοκεῖ δ' Ἐρμῆς ὕπνου ὡρεσάτης εἶναι. Yet some say it was διδὸς τελεῖα. Ασπίς, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinn of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrata* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἶμα blond, and the pouring it out σφάγια slaughter, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοποσίον κύλικα, or φιλοποσίαν a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions δεξιώσεις, *takings* or *pledgings*: according to that

— — γευσέοις δὲ πινέοις

δεδίχατο' ἀλλήλους — —

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἐραμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking 'till morning, had a *πυρρὸς*, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour. Just as the women used to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have *γέρματα*, riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unlesse he had leave, (perhaps it was unlesse he took his leave) of the Master of the feast. and heare I might easily speak enough of their *Κόνηβοι*, but I think a little is sufficient, and that I have done already.

Now the cupps wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, ἐν τοῖς κέρας, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κέρας. Infomuch that the word *κέρας*, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from *κέρας* these hornes. Scilicet. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bull-hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture all Bull. which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυροειδὲς εἶναι πρὸν τῶν, τέρεσι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἰσχυρὴν for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immittit cornua curia bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs) *Ποτὲ γὰρ δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι κίσσινον λαβόν.*

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentleman (as we say in the University, that nothing is fresh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory *ἀνὴρ ἐν πλὴν*, saies *Stobæus*, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it; *clarè excreare* as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But paring of nailes was such a sordid thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Hesiod* (as 'tis thought) long since abominated the incivility, or what shall I call it to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πρὸς αἰὼς δαῖν ἐνὶ δαπνὶ δαλεῖν.

Αὐτὸν ἀπὸ χλωρῆς τέμνειν αἶθρην σιδήρῳ

Nor from the five-branch'd greene doe with a knife
At feasting cut the witberd for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *παῖς*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they used to deliver *τὰ ἀπορορητὰ*, choyce bits, or such dainties as they lik'd best, to keep, or to carry whom with them: but I must confesse it was counted somewhat base: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very high feast indeed, and open house. Those boyes or servants were commonly *Black-moors*; after the fashion of the Romans,

— — tibi pocula cursor

Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossa Mauri.

Your *μερίδες*, portions, which we read of, were another thing: as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choycest dishes at a feast, sent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were absent. For such *Plutarch* reports to have been sent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Aristophanes* (in his *Archarnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding

Ἐν μὲν ἑστῇ σσινομένη τῇ τῶν κρέα.
Ἐκ δ' ἁλῶν.

1. Sam. 1.4

e Nehem. c.
8.10.

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to doe by a *Nehemiah*) used to send portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greas'd their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens e magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they call'd such a piece of bread from *ἀπομάγειν* to wipe; such a thing as their Cooks *σῆς* or *χέουακ'ον*, a piece of course bread, which they had for the same use.

* or ἐπιπικρα

* Coronas
Conviviali.

The desert consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of *μηκ'ets*. they call'd this service, by the severall names of * *ἐπιπικρα*, *τροχάλια*, *ἐπιπρόρνια*, *ἐπιπρεπιζώματα*, *ἐπιπρόρνια*, *ματαδρόμα*, *Epidorpiâ mensæ*. And now to crowne all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls * *ἀναδύματα δαυτός*, (usually accompanied with * *ἀνεγύματα*, merry songs, and tales) because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

C A P. VI.

De cantu Conviviali & Scolijs.

Olyff. I.

Although *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a Feast: and *Euripides* say, it were better us'd at a Funerall, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himselfe (in himselfe) commending, & *Phe-mius* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick, (whereas at Meale-time lesse cupps would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (*νεγμέου*) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observ'd that fashion we read of in *Euripides*.

* Επ'η

Επ'η δ' εἰς αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἐς νεγμέου τε
καυδὸν γάρων ἐλαξεν, ἀπαρπάξεν χεῖρ'ον
Οἰνηρὰ σέθεν σμικρὸν, μεγαλὰτ' εἰσφέρειν.

* In Ion. v.
1177.

The song most common among them was *Harmodius*: so called (just as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call our songs *Chloris* and the like) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicide*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratide*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leana* (as beastly a name as *Lu-pa*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was rackt by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλτατε Ἀρμόδιε, ἔπειτα πέδονκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *A-charnenses*, and his *Vespe*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*; or a song to the praise of *Admetus*, (for most of their songs, as well as those of the Romans, tended to the praise of one famous worthy or other.) It began thus, Ἀδ-μήτη λόγον ὃ ἐταῖρε μαδῶν, πῦ ἀγαθὸς φίλει, εἴδ' δειλῶν δ' ἀπ' ἐχ- &c. where you may observe the oppling ἀγαθὸς το δειλῶν. For so you shall find *κακός*, commonly for a Coward in Hea-then writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) va- lour and fortitude, the only virtue worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authours, under the name of *Σκόλια*. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against riches.

Ὅστιες εἰ ποτὲ πλού-
μιτ' ἐν γῇ μὴτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ μὴτ' ἐν ἡπείρῃ
φανύμεταιἈλλὰ πάντα τὸν τι γαίην κ' ἀχέοντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακὰVid. q. in A-
ristoph. Ran.

Those kind of songs which they called *Σκόλια*, were first in-vented by one * *Terpander*. They were so called either first

* Plutarch.
de mus.

Q q

διὰ

διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιαῖν (saies the Scholiast upon *Rana*.) from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespi*) from the flexuous disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies * *Dicaearchus* ἀπὸ μυσικῆν ἀγώνων) three waies of singing songs at such meetings, the first ἀπὸ πάντων, by all together. the 2. καὶ ἐνα, by one after another in order as they sate. the 3. one after another, but ἐπαλλάξ, not in order, and ἀπὸ συνεπατάτε, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to chuse, I say to chuse; for in singing a *Scolium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scolid* first, took him a Mirtyle rod, called ὑπακος from ἀπαί and ἔχεν and holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus*, (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*.) began in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of ῥαβδία, or ῥαβδόψα, or σιχωρία, from the σίζα, or the rods, as being ἀπὸ virgæ, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to goe on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have capt the rest, had his ἀδύον (as they called it) i.e. ἀσπ, or some such thing for his reward. Unless they sung some of *Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrell*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀπρωδοί, as well as *Homerista*. Others say it was the custome presently after taking away, to have a harp to goe from one to another, and every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) viz. because the eye, and the understanding of those that sung, were by over strong drinke become σκολιοί, or ἐκνεσπαρμενοί, distort

*Schol. in *Ran*.

Eustath. II 1.

x. *Aristoph.*
in *Nub*.

distorted, as they are in *Mad-men* (οὐμαίτων ὀρθῶν, and ὀρθῶν φρενῶν) right eyes, and a right mind, are put together in the Poet.) a *Soph. in Oed. Tyr.*
4. The song was called Σκόλιον, (saies the * *Scolia*) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and αἰὲν ὀλιγόστιχον, consisting but of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὰ γὰρ δὲ σκολια ἐπὶ τὸ ἐυφημότερον μεταλαμβάνει, ὅτι τὸ ἐμφανὲς, because that Figure *Antiphrasis*, is alwayes by way of *Euphemy*, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. *Origen* (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. * *Pericles* is said to have x. *Arist.* made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*, I thinke not for any in *Ran*. obscurity in the meaning, but Poëtry in the making.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (what ever it may seeme to be) to that which they call τὸ ὀρθῶν μέλῳ (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolys* could not) so called, not because it was sung right along and in order: but either because the persons sung ὀρθῶς, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) ἀλτὰ & ἐρετὰ voce, with a long blast, (like the trumpet in *Judges*, c. 7. 5.) or because it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὀρθῶν, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* sayes *Arion* playd after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas*, say that *Timotheus* playing after that mannerto *Alexander* τοσούτῳ ἄγε & ἐπλησεν &c. So moved his spirit, that he left immediately to his armes and took them up to fight. Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have hole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soone as *Menanders*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their σμάτα, oscilla, or officula, like those which they use at Rome at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as * *Augustus* is said to have *Suet.* c. 83. plaid with (talus aut officulis ludebat cum pueris) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *monthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cry'd out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, viz. to be merry therefore while he might.

*Hec, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nilest
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet exus.*

Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Egyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one *πινε & τέρπεο*, *ἐσθ' ἵνα ποδάρων τοῖστος*, to eat and drinke, for to morrow he should dye.

Herod. l. 2.

C A P. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A Stranger, whether you take it for a Guest or for an Alien, so it were not a god, was alwaies had in so religious esteeme at Athens, *ὡς ἀνθρώπων & ἐκείνῳ δέκεν αὐτὸν ὅς ἀνθρώπου & ξένου*, that (as the Scholie saith upon * *Euripides*) if any one wrongd a stranger, he was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himselfe in another * place.

* In Helen.

—Let goe the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

* In Taur. v.
468.

And good reason; for — *οἱ ξένοι δὲ διδοῖσι ἀπαρτες* *Ξένοι* — all strangers have *Jupiter's* owne Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as *Ξεναπάτη*. Now this esteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of *Ζεὺς ξένιος*, or *ξυξένος*. you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *levis hospitii Ara* an Altar of his in Cyprus, where the unhospital people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastræ* bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *ξένιος διδοῖς νόμα*

* L. 10. Fab. 6.

ἔμμελλαι, as if he had car'd more for them then other people.

Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Virg. *Æn.* 1

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly In obedience to the Lawes of the City, which expressly *Xenoph.* l. 3. commanded them *τὸ ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, not to wrong a stranger. *Απομν.* And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to Athens and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *L. de Offc.* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*.

If a stranger had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to doe it themselves) there were *πρωτόται*, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as *πρωξένοι* to entertaine them. Unlesse you will say that these last officers were not for *ξένοι*, that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away: but for *ξένοι*, that is *μεικτοί*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their *μισθον*, an earely rent to the Citty, the men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they sould them, and put them into the * *Isæus contr.* *Elpagoi* ships for gally-slaves, as not reckoning them *cleane* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Aristotle*; but only * *L. 3. Polit.* (in the words of *Aristophanes*) *ἀλυσσάτωσαν*, the out casts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themselves (as evill beasts as they were) seem to have had humanity enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their *ξενικά τετραπύλαι*, two *Athenaus* distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedæmonians* heare but ill for their ξεινηλασίη, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pæce*) brand them with the name of δειρωνόξεροι. Nay it is said how that they never made any λεωσπέρης, (as they called it) free of their City, but only two, viz. *Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But still I hope, their ξεινοι strangers, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the nature of (as we usually take it) *policy*, as it is inconsistent with the name of πολιτική, to care most for ones private good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were so kind πῶς ξένοις, to every stranger, properly so called: what were they (think you) πῶς ἰδιοξένοις, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Those had their ἀστυγματον, or σύμβολον, or *tesseram hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in civility offered *Megara* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τε πῶς πῶς σύμβολ' οἱ δ' ἐξέτισσι σ' εὖ.

So farre were the ξενόδοχοι, those that entertained guests (you may call them ξένους too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their neer relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dionysius* no lesse then his life. Who though he were forwarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, αἰχμηθεὶς, being ashamed (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter de *Vitioso pudore* φυλάττειν φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to be-
ware

ware of one that was his friend and guest too. (as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining a stranger was this. As soon as ever they saw him, *δεῖπνον ἐπαγγέλλετο πρῶτον, the first care *Pindar.* they had, was to have somewhat for him to eat. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cenam*, saies * *Terence.* * *In Heaut.* When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joyned feet one the threshold, & there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hostium, & ponebant pedē in eo, & confirmabant quòd* *Vetus Diction.* *huius non deciperet alium* And therefore *hospes* is said to be derived from *hostium*, or *ostium* a doore, and *pes* a foot. When he came in, they called for the Strangers bottle (as he saies in * *E.* * *Eurip.* v. 511. *lectra*, ἀσκεὶν οὐ φέρω ξένοις) and dranke to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saith *Athenæus*,) ὡς τῶ ξένῳ ἀνὰ τὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἐν αἰρεῖ, as giving him honour, because he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine, rather then any other liquor (saies the same Author) because they took it to be, ἰαχυτικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, *Idem.* *Ibid.* *ἔξαρμαῖνον τὴν ψυχὴν &c.* Powerfull to warme the affection too, as well as the stomach.

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendship must be so seasoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and sweet. All the time of his being the house, this respect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Basin, and wash his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by severall places in *Homer* both observed and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient custome πρὸς οὐνοσ καὶ τὰς κόρας * *L. 1.* καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λαβῶσας τὸ ξένον: ἀρχαῖον ὅτι οὕτω ἔσθ' (saith he) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the rest, of purpose for strangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the * Poets *Alceste*, who when *Hercules* comming to his * *V. 545.* house in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχρὸν, so unfit

unfit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there says) was therefore about to be gone againe, replied; no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

Χαῖς ξενώρεσσι, οἷς ὁ εἰσαΐξεν
Chambers on the other side of the house which we keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.

3ly When they sate at Meales they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which Orestes had at his being at Athens.

— ξένια μονοτράπεζα ἔσται

Eurip. El. Flr
v 849.

Πάρεχον σίκαν. —

Lastly they had τὰς κερκίδας places allowed them at the shewes, instituted by Sphyromachus. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the Genius of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse

Ovid. Met. l. 3.
Cadmus agit grates, peregrinamq; oscula terra

Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq; salutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine service, τῶν ἐμπροσθεν τοῖς θεοῖς unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as Alexander did at his being at Troy: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to doe τοῖς τοῖς καὶ εἴγε (as Hercules calls them) to the Penates, the gods of the house. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the Genius: as Ovid saies,

Met. l. 13.
— dant oscula terre Troades —

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an uncivility to detain him. Menelaus accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

καὶ ξένον παραόντα εἰλεῖν ἐθέλοντα ἢ πέμπειν.

And parting they usually gave ξενίῃ δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, something or other for a remembrance: or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every man's private benevolence, there was

was πανδοχίον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any meanes πρὸς δὲ χάρι (as he * calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being aquæ & igni interdictum.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will, which the Athenians bare to the poore. And certainly if they intended no more then the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom Isocrates saies in his Areopag. τὴν πόλιν κα-
τήχονε, that he is a disparagement to the city wherein he lives. To prevent the disgrace, every ἐταιρεία or Society, kept a poore-man's box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ransome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used εἰσφέρειν ἔργον, conferre erannum (as Plautus saies erannum amici contulerunt) to put every man's contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of ἐργαστῆς or ἐργῶν παληγοὶ. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was said συλλέγειν or κομιζεσθαι ἔργον, as in Aristotle (Acroas l. 2. e. 5.) where he makes this instance of a thing καὶ πῶς, that happened by chance; if a creditor, ἐνεκα τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν κομιζομένον ἔργον, with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish (as we say) for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called ἔργον πασπῶν, appointed by Aristides for those that assisted him in the Warre against the Medes, of which Aristophanes in his Lysistrata. If there hapned any controver-

* That there may be no poore among you. &c Deuter. 15. 4. So some render

לֹא יִהְיֶה בְּכִי אֶבְיֹן

Ulpian. ad O-
lymp.

Aristot. de
Rep. Ath.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *ἀνελεύθῳ*, without the Liberties. But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the *ἑπώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, *ὁ σείναι ὑπὸ τέττῃ ἐπώνυμῳ*. Such a one in pay ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these *ἑπώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *ἐπώνυμοι λέξεις*, from the *λέξις ἀρχὸν γερμματαίων*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty yeares old; and sometimes *ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιών*, because they thus kept a note of every man's age: in opposition to *ἑπώνυμοι φούλων*, who were but to keep a note of their Tribes. Now some there were that were exempted, and some that were excluded from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders *οἱ τὸ τέλῳ πειράμενοι*, who therefore had the privilege *τὸ ἀτελείας*; or the *ἱερεῖς*. *οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντες*: *Bachus his Sali*, or dancing Priests. The latter were, *οἱ θῆτες* slaves and all such proletarianus People who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐν καταλόγῳ εἰσγεύεσθαι*, which the others had. For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, *ἐκὰς πορτύνειν τὰ ὄπλα*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχος*, or Generall (as many as he *κατέλεξεν* made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the *Κάταλογος*, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having besides that another *Πίναξ* or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti* out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the generall, they were to be listed againe by the under Officer, the *ὑπὸ τῷ*, or the foot by the *πολιάρχου*, and the Horse-men by the *φύλαρχου*. The *ὀπλίται* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *βαρυτάτη ὀπλίσει*, and were *gravis armatura milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. 2ly *ψιλοί*, *Levis*

Levis armatura milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly *Πελάσται*, a middle sort between both, with their *πλαταὶ* or *ἀσπίδες*, narrow Shields, and short Spears. Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be *δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χεῖμασι καὶ σώμασι* (saies Xenophon) able both in body and purse, and therefore were to be examined first by the Senate of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were *λακτίζοντες* skittish, or *ψαδάδεις* (as the Scholiast calls it) Noyse-proofs. And this they did *τὸ κῶδων* with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the *Κῶδων*, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did *περιπατεῖν* Walk the round to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called *Κῶδωνοφορεῖν* or *Κῶδωνίζεσθαι*.

—Κῶδωνοφορεῖται, παύταχ

Φυλακὰ καὶ κατελέχασαι

Insomuch that *Κῶδωνίζεσθαι*, is used for the same with *Πειράζεσθαι*, to try, or prove (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, *ὅπῃ ποιεῖ, κῶδωνιστο*) and *ἀκαδώνιστον* for *ἀπειράστον intentatum*. (as in *Lysistrata*, *καὶ πειράσσει πάντας ἐλέγχους ὡς αἰχρὸν ἀκαδώνιστον ἔαν τὸ πῖστος πρῶγμα μὴ δέντας*.) If a Horse had been *πεπυμμένῳ* worne and beaten out with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the signe of a *ῥότος* (a wheele I think) and gave him his *πυσιπῶιον*; for so they call'd both the mark & the discharge it selfe: whence came the proverbe used by *Eupolis* *ὡς πῶς ἰππῶ καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖς πυσιπῶιον*, to give a man his *πυσιπῶιον*, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the Kings, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëlitis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias currum igneo, & equis igneis sit ad cælestes translatus (vel certe hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt viciniâ decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cælos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitas factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because

lias once was carri'd up to heaven with Horses, therefore *Heli* or the Sunne, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

The Horse-men, first, some were *δμάχαι*, that had two waies to fight, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexander's* own inventing. 2. Some were *ἵππῳχοι*, that had two Horses, one to ride upon, and the other to lead: from *ἀγωγή*. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would *σομπύειν*, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pompe and triumph, with a Coach, and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a *ξυσίς*, as it is these verses.

Ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὦν ἄρμ' ἐλάυνες ἄνδρες πόλιν

Ὅταν Μεγαλήνης ξυσίδ' ἔχῃς

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *auriga* then were called *ἵππῳχοι*, and were better then *παραβάται*, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every *ναυκαρία* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *ἀσπίδι*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *εραρίη*, or *μετelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often chang'd, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbade them to be *ἀβροδαιτες*, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, *ὥστε μὴ πλεονεχέειν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πλῆθος τοῖς πολεμίοις*, that the enemy might have no hold-fast, saies *Plutarch* in his *Thesens*, where he saies also that the

fashion

fashion being first us'd by *Theseus*, was therefore called *Θησεύς*.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies * *Pausanias*; but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

* In Lacon.

χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, οὐλοῦ δ' ἐκ ἰσκέ σιδῆρο.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of *Maile*. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*, *καρκεὶς ἀλφει*. The thing, or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastend they called *σφήκωμα*, and to fasten it *σφικῶσαι*.

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χεῦτῳ καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφικῶντο.

Homer.

The *Crest* was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros*, it might be treble, saies * *Euripides*, and quadruple, saies b *Apollonius*.

a In Orest.
b L. 2.

Τετραράλφ' ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλάμῃ τοῦ πῆλιν.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse-taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἵππουρις*, and *ἵπποκομὴς τριπλάκη*, in * *Theocritus*; and that it is said * *περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν*, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the *Helmet* bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as *ὄφρυες* the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* *τοῦ γυῖου*. Of the *Shield*, both the matter, and the forme, was of severall kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

* Id 23.
c Aristophan.
Pnce.

© En. 7.

— flectuntq; *Salignas*.

Umbonum crates —

(but then they *Μεσυχ* called it *ἵππῳ*) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplex* *clypeum*, a Buckler that had seaven peices of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had tenne. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

— & as & proxima rupit
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

* *Troil. v.*
 1336.

And therefore in * *Euripides* it is called χαλκόνωτος ἄσπις. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and some times square. The names of the severall parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L. 1. c. 10.* Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κίχρες ornaments to be seen, and κίχρωματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἵψος, or the border. And 2ly For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called κέντρον, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it, καλίσσας ὄχανον: and so were likewise the umbilicus, and the armes, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the grave along with him. The *Armes* (πὰ σμύκτα, or ἐπίσκημα) were different, according to the quality of the bearer. *Ulysses* had his δελφινόθυμον; *Idomenus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Rouft-cock* the avant coureur to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* anciently, & for the most part, used to beare Eagles, ἀσπίδων ἐπίσκημα γρυπῶν τε καὶ χαλκηνάτων. To the *Armes*, they added verses in commendation of the prowesse of the Person, by which he deserved those *Armes*, and the name of the maker; such as *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomenus*. The case or *Theca* wherein the shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in * *Andromache*.

Κάλισσα πύχνη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be omina; for if it hap-

L. 21. c. 14.

pend to strike their knees, they counted it lucky: but if they struck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill signe. The most famous shield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Ἄγις because he covered it with the skin of his nurse the goat called *Amalthæa*. this shield he bestowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *astonishing* head of *Medusa*. Whether that *Scutum sacrum* which *Alexander* is said to have stolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the same with this or no, I know not. Their shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was also for the other sorts of armes) they suffered not to have their πόρπακας handles, (or some such necessary appurtenance) that so in case there should be any insurrection, they might be the lesse ready for use; which was the cause why he in the Poet cryed out so as he did, when he saw it otherwise.

* Οἱ μοι τάλας ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχέλω, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον ἐκ σπονδαῖς

Ταύτας ἐὰν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῇναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three sorts, the first ζώνη, which reached from the navell to the knees; the second Ἡμιθώρακιον, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much used by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the shoulder to the navell, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ θείον ὥρεῖν, from preserving the heart, Etymol. and the brest: from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to signify to be well nigh drunke, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed against the cold) and ἀκροθώρακας, to signify ἀκρομαδύους drunk to the toppe. now a *Thorax* was either σατὸς, all of one piece plaine like σατὸς χιτῶν recta tunica: or else ἀλυσίδετος, with chaines or plaits of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile.) The leather I say, because it was usually made of a hide (τὸ

S f

σκητὸς

οὐ πρὶς) as the *Scuta* were,

— τῷ δὲ θωρακὸς οὐ πρὶς.

Aristoph. in
Pace.

So they say that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dried and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*.

*Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.*

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *θαλαμίδας*, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oars.

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Clothes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phænicean* colour, the *Lacedæmonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it?) *φοινικίδα*. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the *P.* et in *Achæarnenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Μὴ ἔκαταξάνειν ἢ αὐδρα τῶν εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinn like a *φοινικίς*.

Idem.
Ibid.

To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his *γυλίον*, or *ὀλοθήκη σπαστική* a kind of basket (*fiscinam*), made of Oziers (*πέγμα*) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word *γυλίον*, to signify such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word *γυλιωχάναι*, to signify men that had a neck as long as that thing. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. The quantity commonly so much as would serve for three daies, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *νίκ*.

Ἐπιτρέψαντά σίτι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

Those too often repeated orders for three daies provision.

C A P.

C A P. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for the putting of Malefactors, to death) called by *Homer* *φάλαγγες*, according to that of *Horace*,

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus; atq; ita porro
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

But afterward they came to *Speares*, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*. ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἡμεῖς πῆξαι εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον θιδόν τῷ το σπαστέ τοξεν ἀειδμεῖν. Where *ἀειδμεῖν*, some say signifies to worship (and so they say of the word *numera-re*, used by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes*.) Thus it is reported of one *Phereus Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polypheon* with his *Speare*, he took it and crowned it with *Garlands*, and caused it to be adored by the name of *πόλεον*. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings instead of *Scepters*, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to have a place in the Temple: or else to have been dedicated to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of *πάλλειν*, the proper word for *ἀκόντιον*) and to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially; whence it came that *hasta mota* shaking of the *Speares*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they slept in the field they fastned it ἐν σπαστήρι, which *Pollux* interprets, the butt-end of the *Speare*, made (it may be) with a *croffe* for the better hold-fast, quasi σπαστήρι from *σπαστός*. But *Eustathi-*

in faith it was an iron with a sharp taile like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the Speare in, from *σαυ-ερος Lacerta a Lizard*, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long woden case, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odyss. 1.

Ἐγχεῖ μ' ἔπειτα τέρον πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δυσέρδονος ἔντοθεν ἐν ξύλῳ—

saies Homer, and Virgil has the like.

Æn. 12.

Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first *παλιν* to vibrate the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that *ἰγχεῖ παλιν*, a shake-speare, came at length to be an ordinary word both in Homer and other Poets to signify a Soldier. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seemes they had such things, and Hesychius in the word *ἰταῖα*, saies they made the strings of Horses haire. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, *διὰ τελαμώνων* by belts, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours doe.

Hesiod.

Ὅμοις δ' ἐὼν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο.

What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon Euripides, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the defensive: and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *propere sequi quæ piget in chære*, beare a greater affection to Peace: as may appeare in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave hearing in no worse place then a Temple,* and their entertainment in the Prytaneum. The usuall Ensigne carried by Greek Embassadors, was *κηρύκιον caduceus* a right staffe of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whither this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the Serpents teeth (a seed of dissention sometime sown by Cadmus among Draco's friends) 'tis but *σεχάζεσθαι* my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two *δραχμαὶ* a day, which they usually called *τὸ ποσὶόν*. If it e Peace could not be kept, but they must needs have warre: ye: they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. the manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which Hesychius rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle) thereby shewing them *αηλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν ἑτίαν ἐπεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν*, that what was then a habitation for men, should be shortly a pasture for sheep, and what was then pasture for their own sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their enemies. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not, the Gods must be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, & all the o'd Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City serch into: for this course the * Tragedian makes to have been taken by Demophon of Athens, upon the coming of Euristheus. Then besides this, *ἐν ὅτλοις* after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per- *στέρηται δ' ἡ- τοιμασμένα,*

Ἐσκεν, δις καὶ τὰ ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι θεῶν. θυηπολεῖται δ' ἄστυ μάντεων ὑπὸ Τροπαίου τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλει σωτήρια. χρησμῶν γὰρ αἰδοῦς πάντας εἰς ἐν ἀλίσκες Ἥλερ καὶ βέβηλα καὶ κερυμμένα λόγια παλαιὰ τῇ γῇ σωτήρια.

gian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐν τῇ πενσιλήνῃ, till the *full* of the Moone : so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐν τῇ ἐβδομῇ, till the *seventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching the Generall used alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιόν, to keep himselfe one the right horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὀπλοῖται) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, in those parts, or those Corpora (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called ὑστέρια ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes περὶ ὄρεα. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called δύνειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer

— πρὶν γὰρ εὐξήϊδων ἐς καλὰ ῥέθρα.

The Romanes alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auspicari*.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.

χ. In Eurip.
 Phen.

V When they fought a Battle, after they had killed a
 victime and lookt upon the gall, then away to the
 Torches. for πυρραγοι ἀντι σαλπυγγῶν, instead of sounding a Tru-
 mpet, they had fellows whom they called πυρφόροι, that went
 before with Torches, and throwing them down in the mid'st
 between

between the two Armies, gave the signal.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo.

Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρὰς δὲ πυρσὺν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσὺν, seem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this business they might doe safely, and without any danger, ἀνεχώρουν ἀκίνδυνοι. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted sacred, * ἱερὰ τῷ θεῷ: insomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, * ὅτε ὁ πυρσὸς ἐσώθη. Those *Torches* *Euripides* in *Rhesus* calls πυρὶς λαμπήνας, where he saies that the *Achivi* avoided them, that is, refused to fight.

— πρὸς λαμπήρας ἐξήρθης κλύων

Φαίλιν' Ἀχαιῆς.

Qui clatus es, audiens faces

Ingere Archivos.

Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind then
Qui audiens ignis faces accensas adductus est, ut credat fugere
&c.) Nay, not only when they would signify their intentions
to fight with the enemy, to the enemy himselfe: but also when
they would signify his approach to others, to have their assi-
stance, they made use of Torches too, which they called *Φρυκ-*
τῆς. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or
Beacons if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or sticks,
that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they
had men still who did *φρυκταῖς* keep *φρυκταῖς* *Watches*, in the
* Towers or Forts, as we doe at the Beacons. If the enemy
came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day,
they raised a smoake. But I must tell you, there were *φίλιοι*
φρυκτοὶ Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of
their freinds too; as well as *πολέμοι*. But with this distinction,
that *φίλιοι* were held, or let lye still: but the *πολέμοι* were to-
sed and shaken to and fro.

But those Torches *lasted* not alwaies. For afterwards they *In Persis.*
came to make use of Trumpets, according to that of *Æs-*
chylus Σάλπηξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέλασεν.

Fig-

In Phen.

* Ἐπὶ δ'
ἐσήμεν' ὄρθιον
τυρσανικῇ
Σάκπηγι, ὅ
σωήψεν ἀλ-
λήλοισ μάλ-
χον: v 830.
* C. 6. 5.

In or accendit still, perhaps in a metaphore from the fire of the *Torches* once in use. The first invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrreni*, from whom it is conceiv'd to have been first brought into Greece by owne *Archidas* an assistant to the *Heraclide*, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place. *ὁρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιδας* *συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε τὴν τυρσανικὴν σάλπηγγα εἰς ἑλληνας*. And therefore he calls the Trumpet, *τυρσανικῶν*, viz. from the inventers; as the Poet himselfe had done before, both in his *Phenissa*, and his *Heraclide*: where he saies it was us'd when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded * ὄρθιον a long blast, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have bespoken before.) There was a time when Shields did serve for Trumpets *conchæq; sonantes*: and then you might easily construe that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἡδὴ γὰρ κέλευκε θάλασσι θόρυβον νεκρὸς
Τεδυνηκὸς ζῶνθ' ἔχ' ὄρθιον ὄρθιον ὄρθιον.

C A P. V. I.

De Scytale, de Militum penis & præmiis & Sepulchris.

* Ἐπὶ κα-
τασκευῇ σείχονθ'
ὄρθιον ὄρθιον.
Soph.
Trach.
x. In Ari-
stoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

If it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorn'd with * Garlands. In the meane time those that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, *ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴεν, ἐπιεύσειαν ταύτως, εἰ δὲ τὸναντιον, ἐπιτρέψαι*, if it were good to bring it along the way to them, if not to be there in the way and stop it For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had severall waies. Whether they made use of the *Lacedæmonian* *στυπία*, I know not. If you please, you may read the description thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he saies, that they made them two staves or rods *ἰνυκας* of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be caried by the General

nerall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of a *σκῶτ* a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the Parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedæmonian trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he termes it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

* Ἐλακωτομάνεν πάντες ἀνδρες τότε
Σκυτάλῃ ἐφόρουν.

If any one turned *ἀντιμῶλ* *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been *ἀσπράτ* *ατ*, and would not, or *δειλὸς* and could not fight for feare, or if *λελοιπῶς* *ἡ τάξι*, or *ρίψας* *his rank* or thrown down his *Armes*, he was registred, and delivered to the *Heliastæ* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

* Οὐχ ὄντιν' αὖτε ζῶνθ' ἔλυσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two *δρόλοι*, saies *Hesychius*: (but one, saies *Harpocratio*) every day out of the publique Treasurie: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of five Hundred, whether they were *ἀδύνατοι*. now *ἀδύνατοι* were *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κακημένοι*, saies *Harpocratio*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mina*. Such as were *slaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treasure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a *παινοπλία*, a Suit of *Armes* bestowed upon them, *ἀναμνησκόμενα τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου*, to put them in mind of their fathers exploits, & to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also *σεβείας*, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at * *Marathon* fight) the fa-

* Vid. supr.

* *Æschines contra Ctesiph.**Eurip.**Heracl. v. 966.*

Vid. Supr.

Plato.

* Arma super-
veheris quid,
Thrasibule, tua
Auson Epig. 24.

shion was then to make a shield his *Beere*, as 'twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonian *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, either doe thou bring the shield home againe, or let the shield bring * thee; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometimes, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*.

Ἄλλ' ἀντὶ καὶ σφύ, αἰεὶ ὄλοντε λαῖναν

Ἐν τῇ δ' ἀφ' αὐτῆς παῖδα.

Thucid. l. 3.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equi-
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes, and throw-
ing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the
fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were
allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home
in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three daies before
the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood and car-
rying away each one their bones, put them in the ground
with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech
for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed
to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the *ἔστυ*,
and honoured with the name of *Cecropide*, Citizens of the true
old blood; according to that

Ὁ δὲ καλινίκης Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκεν ἔργον.

Sometimes such as had the first fruites (or the prime) of
the spoyle, were adorned with a golden *στέφανος*.

Καὶ τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν στέφανον ὡς ὅστις ἔχω
λαβὼν ἀπὸρχαίς πολέμων σκυλῶν μαύτων.

C A P.

C A P. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR memorialls of the victory, ἀνέσταντο ἑστῶτα, they ere-
cted Trophies: (you may right ἑστῶτα, if you had rather
follow the most * auncient, then that which is newest in fa-
shion.) Trophies were usually pillars of brasse, or stone, or
wood. And the wood sometimes olive (τὰ ἑστῶτα ἐκ τύτου οἱ πα-
λαιοὶ ἀνέδειξαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of an
Oake.

— Quercus ἡ trophæis Curva tremens —

Those Pillars among them answered to the *arcus triumphalis*
among the Latines. Only that might be overthrown; but
these might neither be taken away, nor restored againe, if
consumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καταποι-
εῖν ἐπιφθονοῦν ὅτι καὶ * φιλαπὶχθῆμον, least they should thereby rub
up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And
therefore, saies the same Author, ἐδὲ παρ' ἑλλήνων οἱ χαλκῶν ἑστῶ-
τες ἑστῶτων ἐυδοκίμοι, those that made them Trophies of brasse, were
lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty. Now upon
the Trophæe, they engraved an ἐπιγρᾶμμα, declaring the cause
of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: such a one as
Othryades wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like in-
scriptions many times were written upon other things. For
Pausanias having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platea*, did not
only at *Byzantium* write it upon the Cup, which he consecra-
ted to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports to his dis-
praise for his arrogance) but also upon a tripod besides, which
he caused to be made of Gold and sent to *Delphos*, with this
inscription,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων

Παυσανίας Φοῖβον μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε πόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being displeased blotted it
cleane

Thucid. l. 1.

* Ἑλλήνων τε
μαχόντες Ἀ-
θηνῶσι Μαρ-
θῶνι ἔκτειναν
ἢ Πίσην.

cleaned out and instead thereof, engraved the names only of those Cities, by whose helpe they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called * Ποικίλην.

In *Cicero's* b time (it seemes) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he saies, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophæe over the *Lacedæmonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amianus*;) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter τερόπιος* (so called from causing the enemy *τρέπιδαι* to turne their backs: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to stand to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and *Ἰδαίος* (as I told you before of *καχός*) good or valiant *folius* erected.

— Βρέται Διός, ἔσπιντο καλλίνικον ἔσανον.

The Spoyles which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods; and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροδίνια, quasi ἀκρεσίνια, saies *Eustathius* as if it were ἀκρετὶ τῆ σίνεως ἐν μάχῃ πάλους: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. ἀπὸ δινδὸς ἀ littore ἀπαρχὰς ἀναπτύσσοντας ἐξ ἐμπορείας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ δινδὸς σισῶσθαι, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the Scholiast upon *Sophocles Trachiniae*, who saies those ἀπαρχαί, or the first fruits of the spoiles which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκρεσίνια, because they used to lay the spoiles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπὸ ἀκρετὶ δινδὸς, they skim'd away the Creame as I may say, or the Crop, or the Choyce to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion wheretof *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expressees it thus.

Εγὼ δὲ νόμφαι ἠκροδίνια ζόμεν.

The

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεντο they hung up for the most part in their Temples, and some times in their owne house;) as they did their owne, when they left the service, as *Horace* saies

— Veianus, armis

Herculis ad postem fixis, later abditus agro.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophæes, but wrote them * all. For that was the custome, τὰ σκῦλα πῶς τετρακί-
σις ἐν ἐσθῆτι saies the Scholiast.

* Τετρακίσις ἵδρυ-
ετα πατὶς ἀλ-
αν ἔχοντα πο-
λεμίων —
*Eurip. He-
racl. v. 786.*
In *Phanif.*
Eur.

T t 3

LIB.





LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.



HERE were not many things in use among the Jews the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, doe not seem to have imitated; and so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldaei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hebrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the honour or credit of *Divination* lesse then the use. For if we may believe * *Strabo*, Οἱ δὲ μάντις ἐτιμῶντο ὥς τε καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀξιοῦνται, many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings. To a Persian King it was necessary, to any other convenient. *Amphilo-
lochus*

* L. 16.

lochus, and *Mopsus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helennus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has used *ιατρός* a *Physitian*, and *μάντις* a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Pestilence, to seek to *μαντικὴν* for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of *Dreames*, and *Enthysiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the *Socraticks*, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, *Divination* by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from men, called *μαντεία*: or from the Gods, properly called *χρησμός* an Oracle. According to that of the ^a Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, *χρησμός* ἢ ὁ θεῶν, *μαντεία* ἢ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *μαντεία* seemes to be the genus, & *χρησμός* the species. The same Prophecy which when it was spoken by a god, was a *χρησμός*: when it was delivered by * men, was *μαντεία*. In the Oracles the word was *Fari* (neq̃ me *Apollo* *fatis* *fandis* *dementem* *invisam* *ciet*.) where-^{* Ennius.} as in the other it could be but *presagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἢ *μαντικὴν* (as we now called it, * *ἀνυστάλας* τὸ *ἐμβάλλοντις*) or ἢ *μανικὴν* as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, καὶ τὸ *μανῶδες* *μαντικῶ* *πολλῶ* *ἔχει*) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into first *τεχνικῶ* *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observata longo tempore signi-
ficationibus* &c. And 2ly * *ἄτεχρον* or *ἄσιδαντον* *naturalem*, for^{199.} which we take little or no paines. These two species are said to be ὁ *ἑταυρὸς* *ἰδίμ* & *μαντοσύνας*, the twins, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Jamus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infused faculty of *Divination*, most properly called *μαντικὴν*, proceeded first ἀ *motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophecy, yet it seemes rather to have been

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiab* c. 44. v. 25. Said he would make their Diviners mad. And *Cicero* himselfe saies 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos afficitus sit*, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of sixe men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it *ὀνειρεσθαι*, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone tumbling down the hill.

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had: or *Polybius* Propheying his Sonnes death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a beliefe: such as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia* wench, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafriis quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that *⁊ Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, natura Sibyllam*. *Pythia* had it inspired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature. Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens*, then in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, viz. *Pythium*, *Dodoneum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, i. e. Either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythia* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of *Greece*, as the navill is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *οὐμφαλον* *ναυτίαν*, because it was *ὀμφαλος* the Navill; or *Umbilicus* the mid'st of *Greece*, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the World as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi*. And this they came to know forsooth, by the two Eagles (saies *Pindar*; *Crowes* sayes some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in allusion to the name of *ὀμφαλον* (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a Navill made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill-string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from *ὀμφη* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no meanes yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus is sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius*. But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, *ἡ γῆ μήνη γαῖα*; and some *Themis*.

ἡ γῆ μήνη γαῖα *βροτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγνόν.*
The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, *Diodor. l. 6.* coming to a den very large below; with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddaine fell a leaping and making a strange noyse. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolick; but prophecyed too! And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the breath (*ἁδύα ἀνέμῳ* *ἰόντων*, or *anhelitus terra*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, expired. Insomuch that afterward they set a Tree

footed-stoole upon the hole, and a Maid upon it consecrated for a Priestesse, whose common name was *Pythia*, and her office to put the Oracle into verse and deliver it out. For (saies *Plutarch*) the words are here, only *Apollo*, *Τῆς φωνῆς πα- εἰρη*, ἡ φῶς ἐς τὸ ψυχὴν ποῖς τὸ ὑπὸν, sate in under blowing with the bellows to set her a peeping, or a whispering like those *צִפְּתִים* in *Isaiah* c. 8. v. 19. Where he speaks of such *ἐγγαστριμύτης*, or belly-Prophets that peepe and mutter; such as the *Pythia* was, out of whose belly the Divell spake his Propheyses with a small peeping voyce like a child's. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, saying, *thou shalt not speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voyce shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit out of the ground, & thy speech shall whisper out of the dust*. Now some say the *Tripus* whereof I spake, was a pot filled with dust, thow which the afflatus the wicked inspiration, was to passe into the belly of the Wench, and so to goe forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that those Prophets which in those tims had a familiar spirit within them, were com- only called by the name of *ἐγγαστριμύτοι*, and *σπυριμαύτης*, as well as *πύθωνες*, and * *Εσφυκλῆς*, the manner of her sitting &c. when she took the spirit in, because it may not so fitly be expressed in English, I desire to give you it in the words of the * Scholiast, *Ἐπὶ αὐθιμῆν τὸ πρὶ ποδὶ καὶ διακρύπτει τὰ πόδια καὶ τὸν πνεῦμα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκίχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ποδός, καὶ τὰς βίχας λυβύα, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς σπυριμαύτης πνεῦμα καὶ μανία, τὰς ἀστυίας, ἢ μανίαν ἀστυίας ἐκδίδωκεν*. She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing her haire, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus speaks of their gestures, *Seclis namq. humeris & utraq. manū districtos gladios exerentes currant, efferantur, insaniunt*. But this peeping may not make me preposterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The first Maids name that Propheciéd in that place, was *Phemoné*. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates* a Thessalian

* As I have heard he lately did in a possessed Christian in the Towne of *Barnwick*
* C. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch. de O- r. c. defec.

* And *Euripides* from *Euripides* a Prophet of that name.

* *Aristoph.* in *Avib.*

Thessalian deflowred *Phabas*; and then they made choyce of Women of fifty yeares of age, but made them goe in the habit of a Virgin. The * custome of those Virgins was, before they * *ἐν Ἐν- went to stoole, to wash their bodies, and especially their haire* *rip. Phan.* in the fountaine *Castalius* (where the Poets a people of the like inspiration, and *Vates* too, were used to wash)

— κόμας ἐμὰς δεῦσαι —

when they sate first on the stoole, they used to shake * the Laurell-tree that grew * *ἐν Ἀρι- close by the Tripus*, and sometimes to take the leaves and *stoph.* chew in their mouthes, as *Lucian* saies *μασσοπαίειν δάφνην*: for so other such Women used to doe, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cassandra* *λαμὸν δαρνηθάρων*.

The first that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnassus*, from whence (some say) the place took it's name, whereas before it was *Larnassus* from *Λάρναξ* *Deucalion's Arke* that rested there *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the cover — *tripodes Cortina tegit*)

It is thought by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Lysistrate* to have been *φιάλη* a Pot (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Brasse, but filled with *ψῆροι*, or *calculi*, cuts, or Lottery-pellers (usually put in such pots) where- of those that leapt out of the Pot, (*ῥίλλοντο*) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aske, according to the signi- fication they bare, made up the answer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three leggs (after the fashion of the common sort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called *δελιός*,) as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ἐνολμῶ*, and his Wench *ἐνολμῆς*.

I wonder that ever people could so much loose themselves, as to goe to her that would be sure to put the businesse in a greater question by the answer, and make them more to seek then they were before. But that they were resolved to be

fooled, because forsooth Apollo is λοξός, crooked there too, as well as in the Zodiack, and he must πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in in his delivery, as well as in his gate. 'Tis his use.

Ambage nexâ Delphicomos est deo

Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ πηήματα αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἔειπεν ἔπειτα γυροῦν, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles, were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

— *dicta per carmina Sortes.* For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐεπιδῆς

Ἄνδρῶν ὅ πα' ἰτὼ Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

* De Pythia
Oracul

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not *book* enough to become the authour. * *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place. αἰτεῖα καὶ ῥυθμὸς δὲ οὐ γὰρ τοῖς χησιμοῖς ἀετιλέγοντες, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in briebe, and so commonly in obscurity, was because the god ἀφαιρίζειν ἔδειξεν τὸ ἀληθές, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it fell to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatise of purpose.

Polyanus l. 2.
27.

The esteem, which they had of those Oracles, was such, that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Entyal* gazer himselfe, yet in *Enripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that

that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides Apollo's own.

— Φοῖβον αἰθρῶπις μόνον

Χρὴ διαπιστῶσθαι, ὅς δὲ δίκην ἔδωκεν.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and corrupted very often. Tully when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *famdiu idem non facit*. But indeed, she has not been thus a long time. Nay for three hundred yeares (I think) before his time, *Demosthenes* could complaine she did φιλαπίζειν, flatter and speak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by *Clysthenes*, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the Athenians from the Tyranny; & another time by *Cleomenes*, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call Apollo Κεσδῶν θεόν for nothing.

Plutarch. de
Herodot.

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so *Cicero* thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by Apollo to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*. And that, First because Apollo did not speak in Latine. 2ly Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly Because the Oracles were not given in verse in *Pyrrhus* his time.

L. 2. de Divin.

C A P. II.

De Templo Delpico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or δαδύματα, of most of the Princes or People in the world (insomuch that *Aphetoria opes*, so said

from *Αἰθήρ* the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculo- rum*, hath been used as a proverb for abundance of wealth. I have read of five Temples erected in the same place at severall times. The first was of Laurell-boughes fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second, of *Wax and Feathers*: or else faigned to be made *πτερόν* of wings, because the man's name was *Pteras* that built it. The third, of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκοῖον*.) This some say was molten to ground, others that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first yeare of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyetians* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispice, the reason whereof is disputed by * *Plutarch*; but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customs, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to doe him honour, or to aske his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said *αὐτοβαίνειν*. When they returned againe *καταβαίνειν*. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies extraordinary to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were ordinarily used in the *Delia-feast* once a yeare, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes *θυσιασταί*, from the feast, sometimes *θεωροί* (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo Σχορῆς* in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his angell the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called *Ἀρχιθεωρός*. There were also sent along with them *Κίρυκος Μυσικός*, two that were to be *παροῖστοι*, or *Eupulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the *head, the brow, and the neck, *τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον* head

Pausan. in Phoc.

* *ὡς τὸ Ε. Ι.*
*τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς.** *Ἐνθάδ' ἐ-*
ρεψάμενοι
δαίον ἡ καὶ
παροῖστοι
Apollonius l.
2. Argon.

in allusion to the three parts of the soule. The ship was likewise called *θυσία*, and sometimes *θυσία*. It was wont to be *Theseus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the *Plaies*, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliafe*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, *ὅτε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῆς αὐξανόμενης λόγον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ πλοῖον ἢ τῆς μὲν αἰ τοῦ αἰτῶ, ἢ τῆς αἰ τοῦ αἰτῶ διαμένει λεγόντων*, Inasmuch (saies *Plutarch*) that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinio, that the body remains still the same notwithstanding continuall decay, by this similitude. Besides this, there were foure more *naves sacrae*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called *πομπήα*. For when they came thither, first they *Sacrificed; and then the Maid sent thither from severall places, fell a Dauncing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which the called *τέτανον*, *Græcè* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the *Minotaur's Labyrinth*; beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of *Olives* with their hands behind them (as our boyes doe at *Snare Apple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

Thucyd. l. 5.

* *Ἐμπύσεις*
τεταναρόμε-
νοι. apud
Pind. Olymp.
*H.**Ἡ δὲ μέγα ἡ σὺ βαμδὸν ὑπὸ πλεγματῶν ἐλίσσει.** *Παροῖστοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐλάττει**χέρας ὑποσφύαντες &c.*Hymn. in
Del.

The Altar was *Κερατίνος*, and therefore called *Κερατῶν* because it was made by *Apollo* at foure yeares old, of the horns of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo*. And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, tis *ἡ δεξιὰ*. Whether it should be rendered of the right side, or right, that is, fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were

were these hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the seven strange sights
 Εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ θαυμάσιους θαύματα, as Ovid saies, *in septem mirabilia*

Mirror & innumeris studiis de cornibus arum.

During all these holy daies no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty daies, *ὡς αὖ ἡ δεκάτη ἐκ δὴ αὖ ἐπαύλαθ',* saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeysance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides*.

Οὐ γὰρ τις μὲν ὡς δεῦρον ἀξιοῖ δέμας.

Πύλαι ἀνοιγὰς εὐρεῖν αἰετὸν ἄρ' ἔστιν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease is uncertaine. Some say, *Alexander* put it downe. But it appeares to have flourish'd after his time. *Plutarch* thinks, it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the * *Hyperborean Scythians*; for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athenians* when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send gifts & offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts.

— Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus.

Delphica damnatis tacerunt sortibus antra.

Non Tripodes Cortina regit, non spumat anhelus.

Fata Sibyllinis fanaticis edita libris.

Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores.

Neorresponfa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀράκην or χρυσήν) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of Schoole for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil to this delusion of Oracles. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for heat, as that place at *Delphos* was for hight. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have been such another Schoole, viz. For the offspring of *Dodonaim* Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that should come from *Aegypt*, one of which picht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there using the voyce of a man among other good instructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Dencalion* after his ship came thither (while I speake of these things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, & his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, neare unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most ancient of all, & of these two, the last. τὸ δὲ κατεῖον τῶν τεύχεων ἀρχαῖον τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι χρυσήν. And therefore a word or two more of it then I *Herodor.* thought. It is conceived by most, that those Doves were certaine Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Aegypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phenicians* first, & from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Prophetesse, ἡ πηλας. *Eustathius* saies, that in the *Thessalian* In 11. 5. tongue old Women were called πηλαι, & old men παροι & that those Prophetesses being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, & *Nicanor*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commoly suppos'd to be doves. The same author also saies, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men and women) for the rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seemes to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Prophetesses to have the names of doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

In Hippol.

* Pulcher Apollo Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras. Claudian.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name *Παλῦς* *Palumbus*: though in another place she have the name of a more rattling Bird, viz. *Φειβόλη* & *Χαλιδών* the Swallow. The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniae*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of *Παλῶδες*: or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of *Παλαιά*, because they were *παραλῶναι* gray haired and aged.

Serabo speaks of four Priests called *ἑλαιοὶ ὑπὸ ἐλαῶν* & *παι τοῖς ἐλαῶν*, from the fennes near the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Τομυρις*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homæ* calls them *Σεραοί*, saying

Ναῖον δ' ἑστῆκεν ἐν Πύθιασιν ἁμαρ ἑνὶ.

They used not to wash their feet; and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amidst the boughs; and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from between them. They are called *στυγίηροι* *στυγες*, and *καυτήνη* *στυγες*, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called * *ἄλγη* *δρυὸς* *κίετα*. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other *Πεγαῖδων* *κερτοῦν*, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Be like they used to strike these Basins as they used to do other Basins and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

* *Cæco Tomuri*
jovis augureluco
Arborc præstā
tabulas animas-
se Loquacis.
Claudian.

C A P.

C A P. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super *Melotas*
in Templis, cum observatione diata.

PROphesying by a *Dream*, was either *ὀνειροπάλα*, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer of Dreames*, or *ὀνειροκρίτης*, *Conjector*, of an *Interpreter of dreames*, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said *ὡς μοι κείνων πρὸς ὀνείρουσι*. The latter of these surely belongs to the technical part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but sometimes true, does not argue skill, because *si sepe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem facies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no *Art*, what talke we of *Xenophon's* dreames in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of * eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise *αὐτὸ ἐνὸν* reported by * *Platarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his bookes, *Aristemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty bookes of it himselfe; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a dream. But the dream (you must understand, was not every *ὄναρ*, or *vaine dream* (for so does the Etymology import, *ὄναρ* τὸ ὄντ' ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, saith *Eustathius*) but *ὄναρ*, or *ὄνειρος*, a *Morning dream*, fresh and fasting, such as *ὄναρ* is, saith * *Homæ*, which they derive *ὄναρ* τὸ ὄντ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, which comes about waking time, or *ὄνειρος*, which they derive *ὄνειρος* τὸ ὄντ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, and of such is that of *Orphæus* in the *Hymn* *Ἀργεῖα* *μυλόντων* *θρηνητῶν* *χρησίων* *δὲ* *μυλόντων*. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarch* *Thrasymede*, or *Plinius* *Aslanus*, that never dream of a dream, & therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured T.

Lib. 1. Divin.

* *Had. Jun*
animad.

a In Pompeio.

* *Οὐκ ὄναρ*
ἐστὶν ὄναρ
ἐστὶν ὄναρ
ἐστὶν ὄναρ
ἐστὶν ὄναρ

Hom. Odyss.

348
who was the first conjectour in this kind. * *Pliny* saies, *Amphi-*
flyen, *Dencalion's* son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pom-*
peius, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaræus*,
whom he reports to have been Deified for his skill; and that
they used to sacrifice to him, when they look'd for a dreame.
They talke that the People that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and
the *Gades*, were excellent at this worke; and so were those
that lived at the * *Hible*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But
amongst all, the old dotting Women were best at it,

* *Pausan. Eliae.*
Propertius lib.
2, El. 4.

Quae mihi non decies somnia versat annis.

When they desired to dreame a Propheaticall dreame, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiarans*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Danuii* used to doe, in the Temple of * *Calchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *molte sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seemes, it was a common practise both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also saies,

* Εραζίζεσθαι
 οὐ τῷ κέλευθα
 καί οὐ ἐι μαρ-
 τυροῦμενοι ἔγ-
 κοιμώμενοι ἐν
 τῷ δόγματι.
Senabo l.6.

And also for purifying a polluted person in the *Elepsinian* & other sacrifices: for they took the skinnies of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of *Αιθιαδης*) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skinnies in severall other busineses: as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sat upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Λανθια* intended of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd ~~and~~ tricks with skinnies. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himselfe, he would sacrifice an Oxe, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyle it, and sit upon the skinne with his hands behind him, and so begge for helpe. Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skinne, promised either men of Armes, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast

Cal. Rodrig.

engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would goe and sleep in a Temple with Laurell, or some such fatidicall stuffe tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to * *Brizo*, the goddess of the *dreamers*, so called from * *Αὐτὴν ὅτι* *Βριζοῦ* to sleep. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpose to sleep in the Temple of *Pasithen*, to watch for dreames. So if any were sick, they would goe and sleep in the Temple of *Esculapius*, to dreame of a remedy, (as they have used to doe with us, to goe watch at the Church dore, to know who shall dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so, *us l. 8.*

κατεκλίνουσιν τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ᾗν

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in saying,

S. 11. 6.

Non delubra deum, nec ab aethero namina mittunt
Sed sibi quisq. facit.

Besides all this they took a speciall care of their diet, so as to fast for *one* day before, and abstaine from Wine for *three*. as likewise to forbear eating Beanes or raw fruit. *Aristotle* saies there is no credit to be given $\phi\theta\iota\sigma\tau\omega\pi\omega\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma\delta\iota\upsilon\pi\eta\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, to *dreames in the Autumn*. But *Plutarch* questions that againe, and saies if we eat good and ripe fruit, $\eta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\chi\eta\iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\sigma\iota\upsilon\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau$, *our dreames will be the truer*. Fish either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they sacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boates full of all manner of things but Fish; whether it were to please the goddesse with the sparing of the best thing, or the rejection of the worst I cannot tell. * *Plutarch* observes that the head of a *Polypus* is as *sower* in the *dream*, as 'tis sweet in the *saft*: & therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choyce there was also of the *colour* of their Clothes. For the whitest and cleereſt was best, $\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\lambda\omega\chi\epsilon\lambda\mu\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, saies *Strabo*: as if Dreams and the Visions must needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreames ($\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$) or the clearest visions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

* Sympos. I. 9.

Cael. Rhod. l. 27
t. 10.

* Ος δὲ ἐν ἑσπ-
ρίῳ ὕπνῳ ἐ-
παύσατο καὶ τὸς
ἀνάλυσι.

Odyss. δ.
αὐτὰρ ὅτε ὑπνῷ
καὶ ἰαμὸν δὲ
μιτάνε λυγρὰ
Τὸν πορὸν
cerni somnia ve-
ra solent.

morning (the formes time *Homer* calls καὶ τὸς ἀνάλυσι, the
milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀνάλυσι
the milking time in the evening)

— ἐγρηθὺς ἦν
Εὐτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης ποιεῖται ὁ ὕπνος ὁ νύκτιος.
saies *Theocritus*: and *Ovid* was of the same mind * *Pliny* saies
a dreame is never true presently after eating and drinking.
But *Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσθαι
ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην ἰδὲν τὸ ἀλυσθῆναι, for if you eat too much,
the dreame will never be the truer if it tarney till morning.

C A P. IV.

De daribus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreames, that they
were faine to make two distinct doores for them to
come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory. For thus
much *Penelope* her selfe could tell *Ulysses* (when she desi-
red him to interpret her dreames)

Odyss. 7.

Δοῖα γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀνιπνῶν ἐσὶν ὁπώραν
Αἱ γὰρ καὶ κεραεὶ τε πεύραται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντες.

In Ephemer.

Anfonius saies as much; telling you which are the true,
and which the false;

Et geminas numero portas qua fornice ebrietas
Semper fallaces glomerant super aëna somnos
Altera qua veros emittit cornu visus.

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed
the same. *Philostrophus* saies, that in allusion to these doores,
they used to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a
black, & a horne in his hand. The doore for the true dreams
was of Horne.

Nonnus dion.
δ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σπῆμα τοῦ δὲ ἐν κερῶν πυλῶν.
(Surely this was made of the hornes of the Rammes when
they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the doore for
the

the false and deceitfull dreames, was of Ivory, such as that
wherewith *Morrhens* was cozend with in the Poet.

Μόρρεα δ' ἐπὶ πάντας παρήγαγεν ὄφιν ὕπνῳ
Κλεψιδῶν ἐλέφαντος ἀνάλυστα πυλῶν.

Nonn.

* In Char-
mide

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wish-
ing his dreame-dore were of Gold, whereas there were but
those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in * *Pla-*
to. "Αλλὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κερατῶν εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν.
The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at
by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commend-
ed; & I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true
(saies he) comes by the Horne-dore, or ἐκ κερῶν: because
τὰ ἐπὶ κερατῶν, or κερατῶν, that is *effectum reddunt*, they say
no more then comes to passe, whereas those that come in by
the Ivory-dore, or ἐκ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαντῶν, or ἐλεφαντῶν,
delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly *Ke-*
ρατῶν ἐμβολῆ, the coming in by the Horne is as much as com-
ing clearly, for one may see throw horne, if it be made
thinne. ἐλεφαντῶν, the other confusedly, for one cannot see
throw Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milke or
the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does
Interpret * it too. 3ly By the *Κερατῶν* is meant the eye, by the
figure *Synecdoche*, or κερατῶν κερατῶν, *cornea tunic*, the
first coat of the eye. And by the *ἐλεφας*, the mouth, or the
Ivory-coloured teeth ἐλεφαντῶν, or ἐλεφαντῶν: & so the meaning
must be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelier, then
that which is but said to be so from the teeth. And this was
also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction,
upon those words of *Virgil*

Sunt Geminae somni porte &c.

4ly By the Horne-dore, may be meant the passage for
the more heavenly & Diviner sort of dreames, ἐκ κερατῶν, or
or διὰ κερατῶν: by the other, the entrance for the *κερατῶν* the
more earthly, grosse, and confused. Because the Elephants
Proboscis turnes downward towards the earth, whereas the

* Speaking of
sleep saies he.
Hoc velamen
cum in quiete
ad verum usq;
aciem animæ in-
transpicientis ad-
mittit, decoru
creditur cuius
ista natura est,
ut, ut tenuatum
visui pervium
sit, cum autem
ad verum hederat
ac repellit, obtu-
um, ebur putatur
cuius &c l. c. 3.
in Somnium
Scip.

hornes

Hornes of other beasts look upward toward heaven. *ἡ ἀνὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν*, is the doore for the false dreames; because there can be no other but false dreames expected, when the Teeth have eaten too much.

The Ghuefts which are to come in by these doores, were thought to be *Ghosts and Spirits* from hell. *Umbra, shadows* they might well be: & such as ascend in a *fume* too, like *Furies* from the neither part of the body. Again as *Ghosts* are

— *δῖος ὄνειρων*, said to fly in and out like dreames, and death is a sleep: so dreames are said to fly in and out like *Ghosts*, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them *νυκτιποῖτα δαιμόνια*, *night-walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like *battes* of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame *μαλακὸν ὄνειρον*, *Orpheus* *ταυροπλεγόν*, *Lucian* *πνυγόν*. If this be so, the reason, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they used to sacrifice a *Victime* to *Mercury*, was it may be not so much because of his *rod*, with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them againe, as because he was *Gentleman-usher* of the *Ghosts*: for what reason so ever it was, it seemes *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, & the last health that went round was his. For so we find *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for *εὐδνειον νύκτα*, a *night of good dreames*. Hence was it that they used to fasten *ταῖς ἐρμῆς*, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of *Ερμῆες*. When they sacrificed that *viſtime*, they used to take the tongue & burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated. *ὡς τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν*, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenaus*, *περὶ νέμεονταί* ὅτι αὐτὸ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν, other who did not think dreames to be *Ghosts*, yet would have them to be put into the head by *Spirits*, as

* *Homer.*
Odyss. 4.

L. 3.
Suidas.

* *on Odyss.*
12.

* *Plut.*

Plato

Plato who thought the aire to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who saies that he had it from *Homer* himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame καὶ σίμειον καὶ ὑμῶσιον, or (as *Platarch* has it from the same man) καὶ ὑμῶσιον καὶ ὑμῶσιον, according to this composition, or separation of *Images*, or *Ghosts*, or *phanties*, or somewhat. But indeed I think those *ιδεῶν*, should not be so much *Images* as *Imaginations*, nor so much *umbra Ghosts*, as *adumbrationes, Images* and *Species* in the *Phancy* proceeding from the *spirits* within, and not from those without.

In *Odyss.* 8.
De Placit.
Philos.

C A P. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum illustratione.

FOR their descent, they thought all dreames to have one common mother the *Earth*. *ἡ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον*, saies *Euripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ἐκ τῆς γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφῶν οἱ ὄνειροι, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὅτι ὄνειροι, because from the earth comes meat from meat sleep, and from sleepe dreames. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moone*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kinds* of dreames, *Macrobius* makes five, viz. 1. *φαντασία*, 2. *ἐν ὄνειρον*, 3. *ὄνειρος*, 4. *ὄραμα*, 5. *χρηματισμός*. Others divided them into *ἀληθοειδῆς*, and *παρηλατικὸς ὄνειρος*. *ἀληθοειδῆς* were *δι τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα*, when things appeared in their own likeness. *ἀληθοειδῆς* were when they appeared in the likeness of other things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cesar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terrarum portendi, quæ cunctarum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be under him. Nay the distinction of dreames was so accurate,

Y y

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no lesse then three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that should concerne *men*, he made use of *Morpheus*: if *beasts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icolos* (as the gods called him) *Fit fera, sit volucris*— if *animate creatures* (*Quæq; vacant animâ*— of him that had the name of *Phantasos* (I wonder how he could remember all the shapes and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as darke as a denne as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the best? Yes by all meanes as soone as I arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stuffe, *dis penetibus*.

Vadit & hinc casta narratum somnia Veste

Quæ sibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.

Or if you think this to little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apello* *averruncius*, called by them *ἀπορρηπίος*, *ἐξαπέστης*, or *περρηπίος*, because his Image used to stand in the Porches. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reason why they should doe it to the *Sun*, viz. *ἵνα ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῇ νυκτὶ ἀπορρηπίω ἐργάζηται, &c.* Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evils brought by the same. They are the words of the Scholiast, upon that of *Sophocles*— *ἡλίου δὲ κινύσι τὸν αἶρα* &c. They called this action *ἀπορρηπίσκειν*, *ἀπορρηπίσκειν*, and *ἀπορρηπίσκειν* * *ἐν νυχτὶ ὄφιν*, but most properly *ἀπορρηπίσκειν* τὸν αἶρα. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet) had so much wit as to think it to be to little purpose.

Ἀκούσας δ' ἡκεῖ νύξ φέρουσα φάσματα

Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρα τίτι δὴ τίς ἐστ' ὄκος.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and wash your selfe lustily in the

Ovid. Met. l.
12. f 10.

Propert l. 2.
Eleg. 29,

In Electr.

Eurip. in Hec.

Idem in Taur.
v. 43.

the cold River till you sweat.

— *sub lucem ut visa secudent.*

Oro calicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

Or if the River water be not good enough goe to the fountaine, as he did in * *Æschylus*.

Ἐπεὶ δ' αἰέτω καὶ χροῖν καθαίρου

Ἐφ' αὐτὰ πηγῆς σὺν θυηπολῶ χροῖ

Βομῶ πρὸς ἐστὺ ἀπορρηπίοις δαίμοσι

Θέλυστα δύσαι πέλαγον.

If you think no cold water will doe it, call for hot, as he does in *Aristophanes*.

— *ἐκ πετάμων δαχρὸν ἄρατε*

Θέρματε δ' ὄδω

Ὡς αὖ θύον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύστω.

But perhaps no kind of fresh water is strong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they used to wash away not only the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling-sicknesse, was bid by the Priest, to bath himselfe in the *Sea*, and being by that meanes cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plinius* in the Poet is led to the *Sea*, for recovery of his sight. After murther (for other sinnes they scarce thought great enough, to cost hot water) it was a common practise; and then no feare of the displeasure of a god for the future.

λύμαθ' ἀγρίσαι ἐμὰ

Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξάλυσσμαι θεῶς.

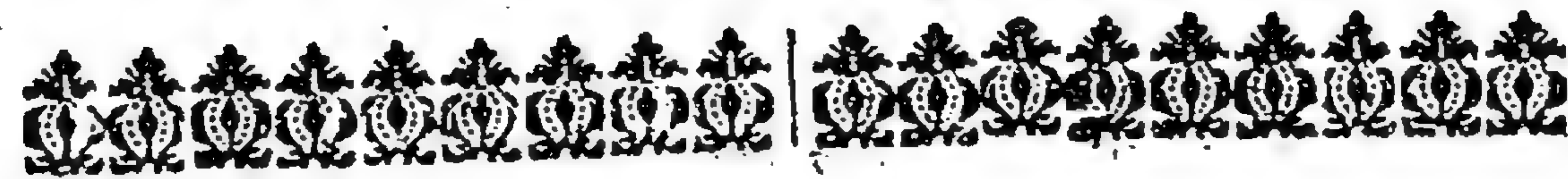
Y y 2

SECT.

Sil. Ital. l. 8.

* In Persis.

In Raris:



S E C T. II.

De Divinatione artificiosa, & primò de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technicall* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were *σημαι* or *κλῆδνες* ominous words, or things, *συμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆροι* lots, *τέεστα* fights, and indeed *ἑταρσύνωσια* (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Quæ est autem gens aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum, aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur.* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisideans*, and the *Umbrians* excelled; the *Lacedemonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his *Augur* to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car.* *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacifie *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, & *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of yeares that the warre should last, by the number of Sparrowes destroyed by the Serpent in the nest as *Cicero* renders the verses.

*Nam quot aves tetra mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos*

Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grieve, because he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow.

(say

(say some) or how many Figges upon the fig tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, *ὄρνιθομαντεία*, or *οἰωνισκίη*. It was *οἰωνισκίη* at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being *ὡς τὸ εὖ καὶ διανοίας πορίζουμένη αἰθερωπὴν ὀνήσει*: but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* *τὸ ὦ πεινύοντες*, to give the better grace to the word: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as *ὄρνις*, and *οἰωνός* a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to were a white garment (whereas it was purple, or Scarlet among the Latines) and to have his *οἰωνιστήριον* his place & his seat appointed for the purpose, *τὸ δ' ἀκὺς*, or *δῶκος*.

Ἔεις γὰρ πάλαιον δῶκον ὀρνιθομαντείας ἔζον. Saies he *In Antigon.*

in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the word *δακοί* in *Euripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit & divine. When they went to it, *οἱ οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημεῖοντο πὺς πῆσεις* (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their Table-books with them, and wrote downe the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the seeing too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to fore-see, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to doe for him: by which meanes she her selfe at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the habit of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent*, saies *Cicero*. The L 2. Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, *Graius & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the left. Although (to speak the truth, the side was the same, only the posture of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the north, & the Romans toward the south; & the word *sinistra* for lucky, or good signes, came not so much à *sinistrâ manu* frō

the hands being left; as a *sinendo*, from the man's being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies Festus and Cicero thus, *Quaquam haud ignoro qua bona sunt sinistra nos dicere etiamsi dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies * *δεξιά* right (and therefore Statius may seeme to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

* *Signa feras leviusq; tones—*) The Romans some-

times *dextra*, and sometimes *leva*; but the one more *suo*, and the other more *Græco*. Unlucky birds (word used among us for an unhappy wagge) they called *ἐξωλαίμους*, or *ἐξέδρους*, when they fled not, or picht not in their usuall height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of Hippolitus perhaps in allusion to it.

— — — — —

Λόγοι περιλάμπυρες ἐξέδρου φρενῶν

Sometimes they are called *ἀποθύμιοι*, or *καλυπτικοὶ* *inhibæ*, *εἰρη-
τικοὶ* *arcuæ*, and *ἀεικέλιοι* (as in * *Apollonius*) *ab εἰκω cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*, as I told you before. And such they comonly counted those that had long talons or * *scracht* their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon Cassius his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apollonius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worser sort, and hang them up at the doore: as we use to doe dead Crowes upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: * Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infauis volatibus familie minantur, exitium suis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were lucky either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called *αἰσιοι*, or *ὀφει*, that is, such as were not *ἐξέδρου* (un-
seatly, or unsightly as we use to say) but appeared *παμπροσώτοις* *ἐν ἐδραίοις*, (as * *Æschylus* has it,) in their proper *spheare* or *seat*. such they counted Doves, and the *σιγή* in matters of Love:

* Ζεὺς δὲ τῶν

κενὸν δὲ δὲ

αὐτῶν τῶν

Saies Ajax

Hom II. 10.

* Theb.

Eurip Hippol.

v. 934.

* Κίρκον πῆρεϊς

ἐὸν ἰσχυρὸν τῶν

καὶ χαλῶς καὶ

πᾶλλον τῶν. Saies

Æschylus

Metam. lib 3.

* Ὅρνις ἰδὼν

τινὲς ἐν αἰ-

σίοις ἐδραίοις.

Eurip in Hec.

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing, in matters of Warre. For hereupon the Augurs once foretold the Thebans a victory. *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere so-
leret; canere, si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually *σαῖταν σιμαρτικοὶ* saith * *Artemiderus*, signs of sedition and discord. But then you must except the Cock-matches kept once a year in the Theatre and instituted by b *Themistocles* after b *Ælim*, the victory gotten over the Persians from whom * the Cock first c me into Athens. This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that Mars was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to Mars, and therefore *Aristophanes* in *Avibus* calls it *Ἄγε & νεότης*, Mars his own bird. All birds (saith one) were either *μαρτικῆς*, or *μυσικῆς* or *θαλάσσιας*. The *μαρτικῆς* (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augurs came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venomous & veneneficall meanes. *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny*.) & *Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eustathius* saies that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked clean into Augurs. *Ἑλένη καὶ Κασσάνδρα ἐν νῶν Ἀπὸλλωνος ὄντων ἐλθόντες ὄρεϊ καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν φειδείζαντες ὥτα ἕως ὅσον ἐκείνης εἰργάζοντο ὡς μόνους τὰς τῆς θεῶν ἀκρίβειαν βελάς.* I am glad I am sav'd the labour to reprove those fellows my selfe. For it seemes that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's taile, when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban Augur (who had dissuaded from fighting, by reason of something or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, *you may if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds*

Lib. 3. c. 9.

b *Ælim*.

Var. Hist. l. 2.

c 28.

* *Athen* l. 14.

Rosin,

q In *Ari-*

stoph *Aves*

'till

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἰς οἰωνὸς αἰετοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι πρὸ πάντων.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their spectators for their superstition.

Ἐστὲ δὲ ὑμῶν δαίμων, Δελοῖ δωδώνη φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Ἐλδόντις γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἔσθ' ὄρνεις ἔτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπιδες.

CAP. I.

De extispicina, & quibusdam aliis.

Divination by the Entrails of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *a posteriori* from the best part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*;) and especially at *Eli* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidae*, and the * *Clytidae*, and *Thelmessas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresius* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindness*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but * his. *Ulysses* himself, was faine to trouble his soule to come back againe to give him advise. The whole businesse of Divining at the offering of a Victime (for there was something else to doe besides poring in the guts) was called *ἱεροσκοπία*. And a very solemn businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that.

* *Pindar.*

* πρὸς καὶ τεθνῆκε
ὥστε νόον πρὸς
πρὸς τὸν οἶον
ὥστε πνυδαί.

Hom. Odyss.
Κ.

Eurip. Elect.
v. 835.

— ὅπως πρὸς εἶαν θινὰ πνυδαί.
Οὐπκὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* *ἰμωβόλα*, and the act of cutting *εἰωμοτέιν*. The signes observed were most properly called *σημεῖα*, and the observers *σημειωτικοί*. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill signes. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Egyptus*.

— πᾶν ὃ σῶμα ἄνω καίτοι

Ἦσπαρην ἡλάλαζε δωδνήσκον φόνω.

Ibid.

Ill signes, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently *darting* out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

— αἵματος δ' ὑπερβαί

Ἔς οἱ δ' ἰσηκόντιζον ἕειν.

Idem.
v. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very *νδύματα* or *wagging* of his * *Taile*, whence that in the Poet.

— Ἡ καὶ καὶ τοῖς καλῶς;

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheepe, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, & the *Jamidae* of dogs; which was the reason why * *Thrasylus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* * *Paus. in Eliac.* with a dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

In *Fissiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which * *Philostatus* saies they accounted * *ἐν ἡπατι* *κα-* the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chaire*, & the *key* of the work, *οὐ τὸ αὐτὸς* *μα-* For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood *τικῆς* *ἔν* *τεί-* and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch *ποδαὶ οἱ δεινοὶ* that the work about all the bowels was called *ἡπατοσκοπία*, & *ταῦτα*. Looking into the liver. The Concavous part of the Liver was called *ἐστὶς familiaris*, because the signes which they observed there, concerned *themselves and their freinds*: the *Gibbons* *Hesych.* side, *ἐπιβολὴ* *οὐ ἀντιπαρα* *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans). The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called *ἑξίς* or *δοχή*: the place between the parts in the middle *πυ-* *λαία*,

* *χ.* ad orat. λαῖα, and ἰσχυραῖα. * *Hesychius* calls it ὀδὴς, or ἐκδοπὰς, *Eurip.*
Demost. *Co-* pides πύλας.
 — πύλαι καὶ δόχαι πέλας
 Κακὴς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοπῶντι σφισβολὰς.

L. 2.

If there were *διδυμὸς* (as they called it) too much dryth, or
δεσμός a tie between the parts, or especially if it were *ἀλοβόν*,
 or without a lobus, it was a very ill signe: according to that
 of *Appian* τὰ πρῶτα ἄλσος εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε δαιμόνιον, τὰ δὲ τελευτὰ
 εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signes because they were so
 bad, that they feared to goe any farther in it; they called *ακέ-*
λῶτα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it
καρδιῶτα, or *καρδιαλέϊν*. If it were little, or palpitated much,
 it was an ill signe. Fat in any part of the bowels was good
 (*κνίση δὲ κῶλα συγκαλυπταί*) saies *Æschylus*; & so were *σπλάγ-*
χων πτυχῆς, plaites and foldings, saies *Euripides*.

Hesych.

Xenoph.

When they came to burning, then they were said more
 properly *δὲ ἐμπύρων μαρτυρεῖται*. At *Delphos* they had *πομπῶς*,
 officers of purpose for the worke. The fire which they made
 use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some
 peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and
 kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Ægypt* they had the *sera-*
phim, and among the *Persians*, the fire which they worshiped
 under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch
 still burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins*
 constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*,
 and at *Rome* in the temple of *Vesta*.

V. 751.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever
 he in * *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against
 all other divination too.

Good signes in the flame were these, if it went upright
 without a noyse, if it continued till all were consumed; or if
 it suddenly began to have the latter signe, instead of *χίζου*
cleft wood, which they used at other times, they would get
 small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ εὐγάρη, ac-
 cording

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἔνδοξον σὶ μαρτυρῶν τὸ εὐγάρη πρὸς τὸν πῦρ.

Now indeed many times *δὲ ὅτιν ἄστυα καὶ ἄστυα, γινώσκοντες εἰς*
πῦρ βλέοντες, that is, the Priests being *divinarumq; sagaces rip.*
c Flammarum, divined by the burning when there was nothing *c Sil. Ital.*
seen in the cutting; and therefore they took the bladder, and
 binding the neck of it with wooll (for which reason *Sopho-*
cles calls the bladders *μαλλοδέτες κύσεις*) put it into the fire,
 to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the
 Urine, *καὶ πῦρ τὸ οὐρὸν ἀκντίζει*. Sometimes they took pitch off *b Id.*
 the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but * *Eurip.* in
 one entire flame, it was taken for a good signe. In matters *Phen.*
 of hostility, they took most notice of the gall, and the *ἀλγὲς* *Μάντις* *μῦθ'*
λαμπρὰς in the flame: and very good reason, *πικρὸν γὰρ ἐχθρῶν, ἐτραζόν, ἐμπύ-*
ρην for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt. Of the Ashes *ρεῖς τ' ἀλγὲς*
 too they took some notice *μαρτεῖα ποδῶν*, saies * *Sophocles*. In *Ρήξεις* *τ' ἐν ὧ-*
 the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the *μὲν ὁ γέροντ'*
 flesh. And so at other times they us'd to throw frankinsence *ἐναιτίων Νίκης*
 and Poppey, and other severall things in the fire, for no- *τε σῆμα καὶ ἥ*
 thing else but to observe such things, and to sell the smoake: *ἰστωμένων.*
 Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Di- * *In Oedip.*
 vinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three *Tyr.*
 of the more notorious. *Νεκρομαντεῖα* or *Νεκροματεῖα*, w.s a *Καλὸν δὲ α-*
 sometimes by the magicall use of a bone, or a veine of a dead *μα θυμιαμα-*
 body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by pow- *των Αὐρῶν δια-*
 ring hot blood into the carcasse, to make it answer a que- *ψάμεσι πλε-*
 stion, as *Eristo* does in *Lucian*, *ἴαντω καὶ πνε.*

— Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quarit

Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atraq; fovit

Vulnera &c.—

Now because the Ghost or the Soule was thus recalled to the
 body (— *animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore some- *Horace.*
 times termed *ψυχρομαντεῖα*, or *Σκιομαντεῖα*, Divining by the
 Soule; or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus
 from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before:

Hered. l. 6.

*Sta l. 4.

Pausan. in
Lacon.

D. 30. c. 11.

for *Melissa* the Wife of *Periander* refused to answer him, because he had not buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse then a Soule; else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the * *Theban* King, to keep him from receiving harme. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by *Sea-water*, but most commonly by that of a *fountain*, and so was called *πηρομαντεία*. It was done severall waies. 1. By drinking of the *Water* (enough to make many a *Poet* too) *ἢ ὡς ἀπὸ ῥήτων ὕδατων πίνετε μαρτυκοὶ γινόμενοι*, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly By throwing things into it to try whither they would sink or swimme, as they did *cakes* in the Well of *Ino*. 3ly By seeing the *Images* of such things as they sought for, especially in the well of *Apollo Thyræus* in *Achaia*. 4ly By dipping a glasse in the water, to know what would become of a *sick-man*. For as he lookt well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly By throwing in *three stones*, and observing the *rounds* they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of *oyle*, or of *Wine* instead of *Water*: and so it was termed *χίτρα*, as when it was done in a *Bason*, *λεκανομαντεία*. *Λιδουμαντεία*, was by a *Syderitis* a kind of *load-stone*, which if they washt in *spring-water*, would speak like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of *Troy*. *Κοσκινομαντεία*, was by a *Sive* held up by a *Thred*, or a *paire of Sheeres*, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl. 3*. And I have seen it used by some women, *improba fraude*, or *anili superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leasure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of *δακτυλομαντεία*, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of *ὠσκοπία* with *Egges*, which *Suidas* saies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κριδομαντεία* with *barly*, or of *λυχνομαντεία*, by the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Naturall History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives *Sawes* concerning weather

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrologically* and *Rationally*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the rest.

C A P. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*. but there is a way by *words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called *καρσύνες* or *φήναι*, from *φάναι* (sutable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *oremen quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voyces* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) & *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observant, sed etiam hominum*. Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called *δυσφημία*: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to *βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν* to *blaspheme* him. *φθίγγειν βλασφημίαν* *Euripides* calls it, where he speak of certaine ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

L. 1. Divin.

βλασφημίαν πρὸς ὁμάτῃ ἐφθίγγειν.

Iou. v. 1188.

The Latines call it *obscurare*, and the words themselves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*.) we may english it *halting speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of *δεσμωτήριον* a *prison*, *οἶκος* a *house*. And so for *εἰόντες*, *Ευμνιδίς*, and *Ξεμναί διαί*: for *μῖση*, *καλίαι*: for *μῦθος*, *ἄρα*, and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*,) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to

In Epist. ad

Plato l. 7. de
Leg.

Speak & therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other businesse with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded and observed, then *εὐνομαίῳ* (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) to avoid all ominous expressions, or *κακὰς ὀνείας* (as they called them.) Which if they were spoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whose businesse was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, viz: *De vocibus malè ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any businesse of concernement, they had a speciall care to begin with a Preface *ἑὸς θεὸς*, or *ἐν ᾧ ἀδελφεῖ*, like to *Persius* his *hoc benè sit*, and that old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum felix fortunatumq; sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names. of such a signification, as it was counted a happinesse but to heare them spoken. For so when *Julus* had said

Mensas etiam consumimus—presently (saies *Virgil*) his Father laid hold on the word and embraced the omen

—*ea vox audita laborum*

Prima tulit finem, primumq; loquentis ob ore

Eripuit pater—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the nomen, or *Ἡγηςίστρατος δέχουαι τὸ ὄνομα*: for *δέχουαι τὸ ὄνομα*, is the same with them, that accipere omen is with the Latines, that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my selfe. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to ab-minate an omen, was either to sling a stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat,

or

or the like; or else if it were an unlucky speech, to retort it back againe with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, *tibi in caput redeat*, let it returne upon thine own head. Which perhaps is an expression borrowed from a custome of the *ἱεροσκοποῖ*, not only among them, but among the *Ægyptians* also, who when they spied any thing in the victims, that seemed to portend ill to their countrey, us'd to pray, *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτης τεσσπιδαι*, that it might returne upō the head of the beast. The like perhaps is us'd in the Hebrew, viz: *וְנָתַן בְּרֹאשׁוֹ* in severall places of the Scripture: & it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respiciat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat*. Instead of this sometimes they would say, * *εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, dii monuerint meliora*. Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would doe it another way: or doe it againe; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebodies speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, & call'd for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either 1. Markes, such as *ελαΐαι φθοῖς* like oyle. 2. *Παλμοί*. 3. *Πταρμοί*. *πάλμοι καὶ ὀϊωνίσματα*, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and *βόμβος*, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the right eare, it was as good as the palpitation of the * right eye. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; & *Posidonius* another (saies *Strabo*) which he called *Παλμικὸν ὀϊωνίσμα*.

Πταρμός Sneezing, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god. τὸ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith * *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the braine, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usuall prayer of salutation *Ζεῦ σῶσον*, at a sneezing: according to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose,

Herodot.

Obadiav. 15 &
1 Kings 2. v.
44. &c.

* *Mosch Idyl.*

* *Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὁ
δαλμός μοι ὁ
δεξιός.*

Theocr. Id 3.

L. 2.

as if it had stood so farre out, that he could not heare himselfe when he sneezed.

Οὐκ ἔλεγεν, ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅπως πᾶσι, ἢ γὰρ ἀκούει

Τῆς φωνῆς. πολλὸν γὰρ ἢ ἀκούει ἀπὸ χει.

Plutarch de demon. Socrat.

Insomuch that if a man sneezed at such a time, or on such a side, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from the businesse undertaken. Socrates (as *emuncta naris* as he was) had so little sense himselfe, as to fetch advice from another man's nose, and to make a Sneeze serve instead of a genius or a *demonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man Sneeze'd in the *afternoone* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning and the reason is disputed by Aristotle in the *Probleme*. If a man Sneeze'd at table while they were taking away: or if another hapned to sneeze on the left hand of a man; then beware all is not right. But if it happened one the other hand all was well. If I may take *Enphrantides* his judgment, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then such a sneeze, αὐα ὅτι πλεονέκτης ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσημύνη. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a Generall. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were faine to nuncupate a publique vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) ordinarily it was reckon'd for good; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his returne, and revenging himselfe of his enemies.

Ὡς φάτο, Πηλεΐδαρχος δὲ μέγ' ἐπῆρσεν — and so *Penelope* took it; (for saies she, laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ὀρέγμαι ἐμὸς ὧς ἐπὶ σῆματι παῶσι ἐπιπύ. And the reason may be because sneezing is comonly healthy and wholesome, σποτρηῶν δὲ: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Enphrantides*, when he added ἔπειθ' ὡς Σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης ἐσθλὰ πῶς ἔλθουσι. But now at last I must tell you of this way of divining too (as I did oft he former) that it was long agoe

slighted

slighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort. For example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord; being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, πῶς οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ὄνισμα ἐῖς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἐπὶ λαρε; What great omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together. But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si suscipi-* L. 2. de Divin.
amus, & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternuta-
menta erunt observanda.

Ominous actions, or accidents were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to take a piece of the cake or any other thing, and carry it home *bona scava gratia*, as we say, for the lucks sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of * *υῖαία sanitas*. If in Sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky accident. This observation the *Romans* called, *caducum* λαίω πρὸς αἰσπικίον. 2ly At a *Feast* this action was lucky, to crowne the Cup with a Garland — *pateramq; Coronâ induit.* ἐκ τῶνδε φερόμενον, εἴτε μύρον, εἴτε δαλιδός, saies *He-*
holds most. Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dog, the creaking of the table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a suddaine silence. In putting on of the clothes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the left shooe first, he was sure to have * it. And thus much at Home. Abroad they had for their omens σύμβολα ἐνοχία, or συμβόλους ὀνειδάς. That is (saies *Chrysostom.* the * *Scholiast*) τὸ πρῶτον ξυναρπύωνται occurfacula, any thing that *In Arimet* them first. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not *stoph Av.* the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books *Snidas*.

Lucian.

Aristoph. in
Ecclef.

* L. 3.

* Plutarch. de
Philadel.Aristoph. in
Ecclef.

In Eliacis.

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs; O! these things were *δυσάντα, δυσίωντα, καὶ ἀπο-
βήματα*, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable sights. So if a man hapened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *ἐπὶ πῶς ἀναστέται*, saith Lucian, he must stand forty foot off. Nay if we met with but a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse way, we will have no Comitia sit for all this day. And * Artemidorus will give you a reason, why a *γαλῆ* should be so much taken notice of, in his * *δερ-
δεμῆ*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is *ἰσοψηφία* to *δι-
κν*, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will signify the same number, viz. 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to *δίκη*, as to interrupt the course of justice? perhaps, it was only then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more sorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testify what regard the Grecians had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes Apollo Spondius himselfe had his Altars, and his prophecying by Omens *κατακλιῶ σὺν κληιδόνων*. So likewise at Smyrna he had his *κληιδόνων ἱερὸν* his Temple for omens too, (saies Pausanias:) where the fashion was for him that came for an omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idol's* eares, and then presently stopping his owne, to goe forth of the temple, and the first voyce he heard after he came out must goe for the Oracle. And so much of divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and I'll have done.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

His way of Divination is clean different from the former, because in it (as Cicero saies) *termeritas & casus, non ratio & consilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the things in the former, yet there was skill with all in the person to give the signification. It was invented by Minerva: only Jupiter took away her credit, to make the better trading for Apollo. Casting, or Drawing lots, was either with *ἀσσηναί*, or *tali* cast into a box: or with *tessera* (*τεσσηρατῆρα* * Plutarch calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot, or *calculi* little balls of earth, with markes upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, & sometimes thrown into a well, (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell.) Pausanias speakes of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of Hercules *Βαγγεῖος* in Achaia. And the like (they say) were used by the Parliament of five hundred, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every judge was to goe (together with the Image of a rod the ensigne of Mercury, the God of Lots) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the signe of Alpha, and they had the rest, to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. One of these waies or all (which I know not) was so much used by the *Thria*, (the three Nymphes reported to have been the nurses of Apollo) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes, lots*, according to that

* In Fabio.

* De iis *supra*.

Πολλοὶ θριβοῖσι πάντες ἢ τε μάντιες ἄνθρωποι

Calculi were very much used in ancient times in Judging of causes, & in wrestling matches, & the like: though (it seems) L. 2. *devin.* in Cicero's time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis planè refrix-*
runt.

In their *Wrestling-matches* I have read that they had a silver pot called the *καλπς*, into which they put little pellets about the bignesse of a bean; according to the number of the men; two with one marke; and those that hapned to draw the same marke were to *Wrestle* together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named *ἐξεδεν*) was to *come in at Kings* (as we say) or to *wrestle* at last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another * already. But that they were used also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathred out of *Aristophanes in Pace* For by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgment was reversed: the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first; and he that drew first, was commonly called by the name of *ἐρούς* the *Mercury*. Thus in the ships in a storme, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over bord for a *καταρμα*. Thus *Enstathius* saies, the lot fell to * *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were reported unto for Oracles, there were *καλπες* Lotts and a table of purpose to throw for it; after the receiving of the answer; for *ἐκ βελοντός μὲν τὸ ὅτι ἀναβῆναι ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ δ' εἰ ἔσται, ἐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται* (saies the *χ* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast, the Prophecy will be fulfilled, If I doe not, it will not. Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and crossewaies they had their *sortes viales* (*εἰνοδίας συμβόλους* *Aeschylus* calls them and *εἰνόδι* is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuts about him, with severall inscriptions; and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind; it went for as good a Prophecy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg. 1.*

*Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

Artemi

Artemidorus in his *Proœmiū*, speaks of *τῶ ἐν ἀγορῇ μάντεων*, Diviners in the Market. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iside & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, & thrown him into the Sea: *Isis* as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, hapned upon a company of boyes at play; and asking of them, they shewed him the place. *ἐκ τούτων τὰ παιδεία μαθηκῶν ἔχον δύνανται εἰδέναι Αἰγυπτίους καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τῶν. Κληροδοσι* *πυζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θρησκευμένων ὅτι αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν.* Besides these waies already mention'd, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called *σειζουμένην*, or *ῥαψωδιαν*. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*; which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* *Ἀνέλεον ἐκείνῃ δεινὴν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ περὶ βλαπτικῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀποποιῶν.* And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsaile out of the New Testament, καὶ εὗρεν ὁπότε σποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παρεχειμάται, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidicall verses, and have written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Aug. l. 4. Confess. cap. 3.* Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poeta cujuspiam longè aliud canentis atq; intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of *καλπες* *sortes*, for by *καλπες* in the singular number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. *τὸ σημαίνειν τὸ δειδένον τοῖς μαρτυρούμενοις ὅτι εἰ μάντις ὁμώμενος περιτένῃσι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων.*

χ In Eurip. Hippol.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντις, as they did but little better then *faine* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurell about their heads, as the Poet * saies of *Cassandra* * χλωροκόμῳ σφόνδανας κοσμηθεῖται. For why? — *venturi præscia laurus*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of speciall and soveraigne vertue, both to set a man a Prophecyng, (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεσπέσιον δάφνῳ) and to preserve him from any evill; & therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Lawrell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publike* persons. χρησμολόγοι κατέχον τὸν πυρτανεὺς ἐκείνης, saies the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*. There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the μυσταῖδες εἰδότες τὴν θεοργίαν μαντεῶν, saies *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Beotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madnesse:) and the youngest of *Caphna* in *Arcadia* (of *Locris* some say) otherwise called Κυδῶς, and Ἀλκίτας. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) saies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whome was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraea*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the Spirit of *Python*, and brought her Master most gaine by *Southsaying*.

* *Eurip. Iphig.*
in *A.v. 757.*
* In *Androm.*

* *Acts c. 16,*
v 16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to doe more yet; and excuse one fault with another. For my desire

fire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, and why I did it not better. The cords that drew me to doe it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no meanes break viz. First the importunity of my freind. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humor of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, are as many. viz. First, want of yeares and judgment, having done the most part of it in my Tyrocinium (when I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authours which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly

zly, Want of time and leasure being cal-
led away by occasions, that might not be
neglected, and by friends that could not
be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee
but a little light, and my labour and oyle
be not all lost, I have as much as I desi-
red my selfe, and thou hast no more then
I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.

Μύτων οὐτος ὁπλοῖς ὅδ' ἔκρονθ; Εἰρηφώτης
Μητέρας εἶχε δύω, Πατέρας δ' ὅγ' Σῶμα γὰρ ἄλλο
ἄλλοτ' ἔδωκε ψυχῇ, εἴπερ ψυχὴ ἐνετελέχεια.
Ἡ σὺ, Πέπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ πρὶν πῆρωμα, τί τεύξω.
Εὐλα, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα σὺ μάλλον ἔτ' αἰεὶ
Μάλλον ἀποσπόδισον Σκυδικῇ κακρυμμένα περρᾷ.

Ἐκδόσει εἰνὶ νέᾳ τὴ νέον; τὰφθ, ὄρκοι, ἔρωτες
Ὁρέπρεα, λοχαί, Ἰνέται, Μαντσύννη, Πόλεμθ.

R. WARRE.

è C.C.C.

FINIS.

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